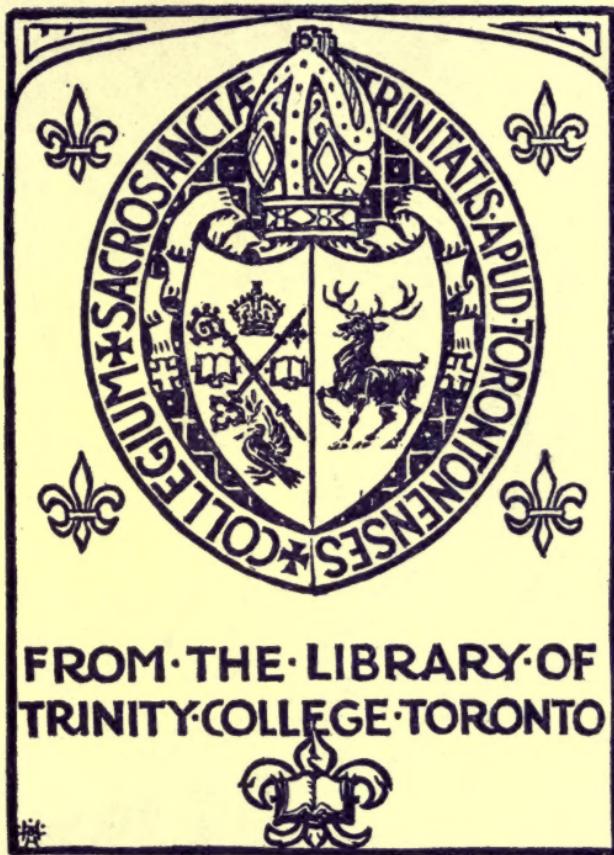


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Scriptural and Catholic Truth and Worship

OR

THE FAITH AND WORSHIP OF THE PRIMITIVE,
THE MEDIAEVAL AND THE REFORMED
ANGLICAN CHURCHES

BY THE REV.

F. MEYRICK, M.A.

SOMETIME RECTOR OF BLICKLING, NON-RESIDENTIARY CANON OF LINCOLN
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CONTENTS

PART I

CHAPTER I

The Faith of the earliest Christians as shown by the Acts of the Apostles. Summarised in the Apostles' or Baptismal Creed. The Articles of Belief taught in the following order: The Messiahship of Jesus, His crucifixion, His death, His burial, His resurrection, His descent into hell (*i.e.*, the state of the dead), His ascension, His session at the right hand, the mission of the Holy Ghost, the final judgment, the birth on earth of Christ, the fatherhood of God, His Almightiness, His creative energy, the forgiveness of sins, the Holy Catholic Church and the Communion of Saints, the resurrection and the life everlasting. The Creed, with the order of its articles re-arranged, used as a formula to prove whether catechumens were sufficiently instructed in the faith. Irenæus's Creed, 1

CHAPTER II

The religion of the earliest Christians, the result on their emotions of realising the various truths of their Creed, more especially: 1. Repentance; 2. Faith or Belief, which were accompanied by love and hope and the different modifications of each of those feelings, such as awe, gratitude, joy, fear, trust, humility, brotherly-kindness, 17

CHAPTER III

Institutions, ordinances and rites of the earliest Christians.
1. The Church; 2. Baptism; 3. The Lord's Supper; 4. Common Prayer; 5. The Lord's Day; 6. Confirmation; 7. Holy Orders, 20

CHAPTER IV

PAGE

The government of the Church—first by Apostles, Presbyters and Deacons; then by Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, 26

CHAPTER V

Witness of the Epistles, proving that the faith, religion, ordinances and Church government were the same as those testified to by the Acts. Expansion of the Articles of the Creed. Hope, love and obedience complementary of faith and repentance. Excommunication added to the ordinances previously recognised. Sanctification of marriage. Form of government unchanged. Prominence of prophets. Unction of the sick, 29

CHAPTER VI

The sub-Apostolic age, conterminous with the second century. Its faith and religion and ordinances shown to be the same as before by the testimony of its chief writers—the Pseudo-Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Hermas, the author of the Teaching of the Apostles, Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian. The Millennium. Transference of the Lord's Supper from the evening to the forenoon from political causes. Justin Martyr's description of it. The sacrifices of Christians constituted by prayer and thanksgiving alone. Change of faith inadmissible. The Agape. Christian marriage rites. Summary, 39

CHAPTER VII

The worship of the sub-Apostolic Church. 1. The Ante-lucan Service; 2. the Missa; 3. the Evening Service, followed by the Agape. The form of each, 63

CHAPTER VIII

The third, fourth and fifth centuries, forming with the first and second the Primitive Church. No change of faith effected by

Contents

	PAGE
the Council and Creed of Nicæa, nor by the Council and Creed of Constantinople, nor by the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, nor by the Athanasian Creed. Germs of innovations found in the conjectures of individuals,	66

CHAPTER IX

The Lord's Day in the Primitive Church. Recognised by Constantine and the succeeding Christian Emperors' legislation. Strictness in its observance down to the beginning of the Middle Ages. Sunday services: 1. Ante-lucan; 2. Forenoon, including the Lord's Supper; 3. Evening prayer, followed by the Agape. St Basil's account of the Ante-lucan Service,	74
--	----

CHAPTER X

The hierarchy of the Primitive Church. The institution of Metropolitans and of Patriarchs. The civilised world divided by Constantine into fourteen 'dioceses' or civil districts. The Church Catholic therefore constituted by fourteen Diocesan or National Churches, one for each 'diocese'; independent, but united by a spiritual bond of cohesion and by a common deference to an Ecumenical Synod. Rome and Constantinople borrowed dignity from the greatness of the cities in which they were established. The Roman See and Bishops invested by the Emperors Gratian and Valentinian with authority over other sees and bishops in the Empire; the See of Constantinople invested with authority over three of the Diocesan Churches by the Council of Chalcedon. Struggle between the two great sees for pre-eminence. Inferior orders of the Ministry—sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, door-keepers,	79
--	----

CHAPTER XI

The sixth, seventh and eighth centuries transitional from primitive to mediaeval. The irruption of the Barbarians powerful for evil in its effects on the Church. Illustrated in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and the practice of Confession. Origin and growth of the Confessional. Progress towards Purgatory. Strengthening of the Papal power,	87
---	----

CHAPTER XII

PAGE

Second and Third Councils of Constantinople; Vigilius and Honorius. Honorius declared by his successor in the Papacy, as well as by the *Œcumene* Council, to be heretical. The iconoclastic controversy. Council at Constantinople in 754, which prohibited image worship. The Second Council of Nicæa in 787, which approved it. The Empress Irene and Tarasius, Popes Gregory II., Gregory III. and Hadrian. Charlemagne and the Caroline Books. Council of Frankfort in 794, which rejected the Second Council of Nicæa and its decrees. Restoration of images in the East by the Empress Theodora in 842. Image worship in the East and in the West, 94

PART II

CHAPTER I

The faith of the Mediæval Church. The Roman supremacy the heart of the mediæval system. The False Decretals in 830, believed genuine for seven centuries; the basis on which the Papal Monarchy was erected by Nicholas I., Gregory VII. and Innocent III. The Articles of the mediæval faith gathered up in the Creed of Pope Pius IV., consisting of: 1. Transubstantiation. Its further growth and triumph. Paschasius Radbert and Berengarius. The Fourth Council of the Lateran in 1215. 2. The Mass. 3. Reception in one kind. 4. Seven sacraments. 5. Purgatory. 6. Indulgences. 7. Invocation and worship of saints. 8. Veneration of relics. Robberies of graves. Bishop Gelmirez and the bodies of Portuguese saints. 9. Image worship. 10. Tradition. 11. Justification. Works of congruity and condignity. 12. Papal supremacy, 105

105

CHAPTER II

The worship of the Mediæval Church. Altered with the alteration of the faith. 1. Effects on worship of Transubstantiation—gorgeous ceremonial; public and private adoration of the Elements; Elevation; Reservation within the Church, processions on *Corpus*

Contents

PAGE

Christi day without it ; Fasting before Communion, leading to early celebrations of the Communion. 2. Effects of the doctrine of the Mass—‘ High Mass’ for Sacrifice, ‘ Low Mass’ for Sacrament ; hearing Mass or non-communicating attendance ; clerical dress ; Latin tongue. 3. Effect of the doctrine of Reception in one kind—the denial of the Cup. 4. Effects of the dogma of Seven Sacraments—the system of private Confession and Absolution ; change in the forms of Ordination ; Extreme Unction. 5 and 6. Effects of Purgatory and Indulgences—Masses for the dead and devotions gainful to the clergy. 7. Effects of saint worship—the loss of filial love to God the Father and Christ ; desecration of Sunday. 8. Effect of the adoration of images and relics—the debasement of worship. 9. Effect of tradition and visions being regarded as sources of truth—new beliefs and new fashions of worship. 10. Effect of the mediæval doctrine of Justification—self-righteousness, regarding acts of devotion as meritorious. 12. Effect of the Papal power—new dogmas and new *cultes*, 131

PART III

CHAPTER I

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church as shown by the Thirty-nine Articles. Necessity for the formal rejection of existing errors and corruptions. The purpose of the Articles ; called ‘ Our Confession,’ by Archbishop Laud and Bishop Andrewes. Repudiation of Roman doctrine by them. 1. Tradition, modern revelations and all but Scripture. 2. Justification by merit. Hooker’s exposition of the true doctrine. Merit of congruity and condignity. 3. Purgatory—its unscriptural character. Masses for the dead. 4. Indulgences or Pardons—condemned by Hooker, Andrewes, Laud, Cosin. 5. Image worship. 6. Relics—both prohibited by the Homilies. 7. Saint worship—its moral and spiritual evils shown by Bishop Andrewes. 8. Seven Sacraments. Matrimony. Penance—Hooker’s teaching. 9. Transubstantiation — the teaching of Hooker, Laud, Cosin, Jeremy Taylor. 10. One kind—argument of Bishop Andrewes. 11. The Sacrifice of the Mass—condemned by Cosin, Ridley, Cranmer. 12. Papal supremacy—statements of Archbishop Wake and Bishop Bilson, 157

CHAPTER II

PAGE

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church as shown in the Prayer-book. All the articles of the Creed recognised in the Collects, Morning and Evening Prayer, the Litany and the Occasional Offices, 192

CHAPTER III

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church as shown by the Homilies on Holy Scripture, on Justification, on image worship, on saint worship, on Purgatory, on Seven Sacraments, on Holy Communion. Note on the expression 'Under the form of bread and wine.' The Homilies' teaching on Repentance, on the use of the Latin language, 197

CHAPTER IV

The worship of the Reformed Anglican Church as shown by her Prayer-book. 1. The use of the vernacular. 2 and 3. Morning and Evening Prayer restored as public services according to primitive practice. 4 and 5. The Calendar—its Lectionary and its rejection of mediæval saints' days. 6. The recovery of Common Prayer ; the form of Confession and Absolution, what they and the Communion Service teach. 7. The Litany contrasted with the mediæval and modern Roman Litany. 8. Collects purged of saint worship and of claims for human merit. 9. The Holy Communion Office—the simplicity of the ceremonies surrounding it resulting from the difference of faith ; non-communicating attendance at it strictly forbidden and disused. 10. Changes for the better in the Baptismal Offices, Confirmation Service, Marriage Service, Visitation of the Sick, the Burial Service and the Churching of Women. 11. The special excellence of the Communion of the sick. 12. The Communion. 13. The use of the Psalms. 14. Forms of Prayer at sea, 207

CHAPTER V

The worship of the Reformed Anglican Church as shown by the Ordinal. The Preface of the Ordinal. The three Orders of the Ministry. The forms of Ordination. Abandonment of the *Porrectio instrumentorum*. Dr v. Döllinger, Bishop Reinkens and

Contents

PAGE

Professor Friedrich on the Anglican forms of Ordination. Removal of the mediæval words professing to give the power of sacrificing. Difference between the mediæval priesthood and the primitive and Anglican priesthood. The priesthood of all Christians. No sacerdotal caste. Note from Ugo Janni. The rending of the veil and the way made open for every Christian to his Abba Father. The word priest, as descriptive of the second Order of the Ministry, the same as presbyter, of which it is a shortened form, 228

CHAPTER VI

The worship of the Reformed Anglican Church as shown by the canons. The dress of the officiating clergy—a cope in cathedrals and collegiate churches at the celebration of the Holy Communion, the surplice in all other cases: ordered by law in 1566 and by canon in 1604, has been the legal and canonical dress ever since. The Ornaments rubric. Lord Selborne's judgment. The surplice similar in form and colour to the earliest Christian clerical dress. Frequency of communicating in the Anglican Church. Sunday observance, 237

PART IV

CHAPTER I

Further developments of the mediæval faith. 1. The Immaculate Conception of St Mary. 2. The Infallibility of the Pope. 3. The Pope's Universal Bishopric. Doctrine of development. Further expansion of Mariolatry with the approval and encouragement of Leo XIII. The Rosary. Jesus, Mary and Joseph. Immaculate Nativity of Joseph. The earthly Trinity. Further expansion of Papal power and autocracy. The Pope in the Vatican, like the Host on the Altar, is Jesus Christ under a veil (Bishop Bougaud of Laval), and the incarnation of the Holy Ghost (Bishop Jauffret of Bayonne), 247

CHAPTER II

Further developments of mediæval worship—new *cultes*: (1) of St Mary (as above); (2) of various parts of our Lord's body—

the Sacred Heart, the Sacred Feet, the Sacred Face, the Sacred Hands, the Sacred Heart of the Penitent Jesus—each conducted by a new order or congregation ; (3) of the Eucharist—the forty hours' worship of the Sacrament, the perpetual worship of the Host, nocturnal adoration of the most Holy Sacrament, congregation of the Eucharistic Heart. Exposition of the Host. Benediction by the Host. Marian Congresses. Present-day worship of a devout layman of the Roman Church. Scapulars, . 259

CHAPTER III

Developments in the Reformed Anglican Church since the Reformation. The Prayer-books of Edward VI. and Elizabeth. Opposition offered by Rome and Puritanism, and defence against both. The seventeenth-century divines, firm maintainers of the primitive faith and the Reformation settlement. Work of the eighteenth century to prove the reasonableness of religion. Wesley's Movement. The Evangelical Movement. The Tractarian Movement. Newman, Pusey, Keble. The Ritualist Movement. The central doctrine of Ritualism, the objective presence of Christ in the elements. Its consequences—Reservation, Elevation, Adoration, Fasting Communion, Non-communicating Attendance, Children's Eucharist, Sacramental Confession, Vestments, Incense, Lights, Genuflexions and other ceremonies. Reservation, Incense and Lights condemned by the Archbishops, all the other practices by leading doctors of the Church—Elevation by Bishop Cosin ; Adoration by Bishop Taylor ; enjoined fasting by Bishop Christopher Wordsworth and Bishop Doane ; Non-communicating Attendance by Bishop Moberly, Bishop Doane, Mr Scudamore. Ritualism a back eddy in the stream of the Church's life, not destined to be permanent or of long continuance, 265

TABLE OF DATES

		A.D.
Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch	<i>circa</i>	107
Christianity in Britain, first Missionaries arrive from Gaul		150-200
Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna		155
Justin Martyr, Apologist		163
Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, cites Baptismal Creed		200
Tertullian, African Latin Father		230
Origen, Greek Father of Alexandria	died	253
Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage	martyred	258
Diocletian's Persecution		303
First British Martyr, St Alban		303
Constantine's Edict giving toleration to Christianity		313
Eusebius of Cæsarea, Ecclesiastical Historian	<i>circa</i>	341
FIRST GENERAL COUNCIL OF NICÆA. DEVELOPMENT OF CREEDS		325
Basil the Great, framed first Monastic Rules		360
Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria	died	373
SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE. DEVELOPMENT OF CREEDS		381
Basil, the Church Ruler		379
Gregory of Nyssa, Theologian		395
Gregory Nazianzenus, Orator and Poet		390
Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, forbids non-communicating attendance	<i>circa</i>	400
Jerome's Latin Version of the Bible (Vulgate), begun 391, ended		404
Jerome, Promoter of Monasticism (Roman Mission)	died	420
Pope Celestine rebukes Gallican Bishops for superstitious observance in dress and for use of Pallium and Girdle in Church		423
Augustine, Bishop of Hippo		354-430
THIRD GENERAL COUNCIL OF EPHESUS. DEVELOPMENT OF CREEDS		431

Table of Dates

	A.D.
St Patrick in Ireland	432
FOURTH GENERAL COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON. FINAL DEVELOPMENT OF CREEDS	451
Confession, under Pope Leo I., made private instead of public, but with no hint of priestly absolution	459
Separation of Eastern (Greek) from Western (Roman) Empire	476
Superiority to all earthly tribunals ascribed to Symmachus, Bishop of Rome (now first distinctly called Pope)	502
Rule of St Benedict	529
Augustine in Kent (Roman Mission)	597
Aidan of Iona in Northumbria	635
Council of Whitby (Roman usages adopted)	664
English Church united under Theodore	690
Council of Constantinople (Second) condemned Image- worship, 338 Bishops being present	754
Council of Nicæa (Second) commanded Image-worship	787
Council of Frankfort condemned decree of Council of Nicæa	794
During reign of Louis le Débonnaire, Bishops and Clergy discontinued secular dress while officiating and adopted special Vestments (amice, alb, sandals)	814-840
Image-worship becomes recognised in worship of Greek Church	842
Doctrine of Transubstantiation (not yet called so) first taught by Paschasius Radbert	844
Forged Decretals, attributed to Isidore	circa 850
Foundation of Papal control over Western Church by Nicholas I.	860
All Souls' Day ordered to be kept by whole Church	1024
Final separation between Eastern and Western Churches	1054
Pope Gregory VII. decrees celibacy of Clergy	1074
Plenary Indulgences introduced	1095
Communion in one Kind introduced	12th cent.
St Bernard revives Monasticism and founds Cistercian Order	1153
Peter Lombard, School Doctor	1164

Table of Dates

	A.D.
Francis of Assisi } Founders of Mendicant Orders {	1209
Dominic	1215
"Hail Mary" first introduced by Odo of Paris (without invocation)	about 1200
Fourth Lateran Council at Rome under Pope Innocent III.; Confession ordered to be made to a Priest at least once a year, and Transubstantiation made an article of the Faith	1215
Provisions of Oxford	1258
Feast of Corpus Christi decreed by Pope Urban IV.	1264
Thomas Aquinas, School Doctor	1274
Duns Scotus, " "	1308
Feast of Corpus Christi confirmed by Pope Clement V.	1311
Wycliffe in England, translated Latin Vulgate into English	died 1384
Council of Constance forbids administration of Cup to laity	1415
Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead introduced	1439
Huss and Jerome in Bohemia, burned by order of Council of Constance	1416
Council of Basle makes sundry attempts at Reform	1431
Hussite movement crushed	1438
Luther	born 1483
Zwingli	" 1484
Melanchthon	" 1497
Calvin	" 1509
Luther's 95 Thesis	1517
Tindale's translation of New Testament	1526
The Bible in English ordered to be set up in Churches	1538
Martyrdom of Cranmer	1555
Council of Trent assembles	1545
Council of Trent issued decrees teaching Transubstantiation, Sacrifice of the Mass, Seven Sacraments, Communion in one Kind, Purgatory, Indulgences, Image-worship, Veneration of Saints and Relics, Supremacy of the Church of Rome, Joint Authority of Tradition with Scripture, and Justification necessary by works	1545-1563
Creed of Pope Pius IV. (the 12 Novel Articles)	1564
Litany in English	1544

Table of Dates

	A.D.
First Book of Homilies (Cranmer)	1547
Office of Holy Communion	1548
First Prayer Book of Edward VI.	1549
Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.	1552
Forty-two Articles	1553
Third Prayer Book (Elizabeth)	1559
Thirty-nine Articles	1563
Second Book of Homilies	1563
“ Advertisements ” of Elizabeth	1566
Invocation added to “ Hail Mary ” by Pope Pius V.	1568
The Canons	1604
Jacobean revision of Prayer Book	1604
Authorised Version of the Bible	1611
Present Book of Common Prayer (Revision of Elizabethan Prayer Book)	1662
Oxford or Tractarian Movement. Tracts for the Times, published	1833-1841
Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary proclaimed as an article of Faith by Pope Pius IX.	1854
Infallibility of the Pope proclaimed as an article of Faith by Pope Pius IX.	1870

PART I

Scriptural and Catholic Truth and Worship

CHAPTER I

THE FAITH OF THE EARLIEST CHRISTIANS

THE faith of the earliest Christians was that which they received from the Apostles. We have no formal statement of what that was, but we can gather it in its integrity from the Gospels, which profess to be a declaration of those things which were most surely believed among the earliest Christians, from the book containing an account of the Acts and preaching of some of the Apostles, and from the letters written by them, and specially by St Paul, to their first converts, specifically explaining some points and incidentally exhibiting what the rest were. The history of the sub-Apostolic and early Church betrays the existence of no doctrine that does not appear in the Gospels, or the Acts, or the Epistles, and it was the pious and undoubting belief of the primitive Church that the Providence of God so appointed it, that every important truth is there handed down in writing for the guidance of future generations. It will be enough to quote two passages to represent this

A

general sentiment. Irenæus, grandchild in the faith to St John (for he was a pupil of Polycarp, who was a pupil of St John) says, 'We have received the disposition of our salvation by no others but those by whom the Gospels came to us, which they then preached, and afterwards by God's will delivered to us in the Scriptures, to be the pillar and ground of our faith' (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 1). And in the fifth century St Augustine writes, 'In those things which are plainly laid down in Scripture all things are found which embrace faith and morals' (*De Doctr. Christ.* iii. 9). Similar passages are found in Tertullian (¹), Origen (²), Hippolytus (³), Athanasius (⁴), Cyril of Jerusalem (⁵), Basil (⁶), Ambrose (⁷), Jerome (⁸), Vincentius Lirinensis (⁹), even in so late a writer as John Damascene (¹⁰) and many, many more.

It is not to be expected that the Apostles should have arranged their oral teaching in formal order, like a professor delivering a lecture to a class of pupils. They, of course, began, not from the beginning in the order of thought, but with the events in the midst of which they and those whom they addressed were standing. Their first teaching was on Christ's Messiahship, His Crucifixion, His Death, His Resurrection. Convince men of those facts, and everything else—facts and doctrines—would come in due course, and they would all arrange themselves in their proper order, whether for present belief or for the future instruction of others. Accordingly, this is the very first subject in the first address, made on the day of Pentecost. 'Him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified

Faith of the Earliest Christians

and slain ; whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death because it was not possible that He should be holden of it. For David speaketh concerning Him, "I foresaw the Lord always before my face, for He is on my right hand that I should not be moved ; therefore did my heart rejoice and my tongue was glad ; moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope ; because Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption ; Thou hast made known to me the ways of life ; Thou shalt make me full of joy with Thy countenance." Men and brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and his sepulchre is with us unto this day. Therefore, being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh, He would raise up Christ to sit on his throne ; He seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ, that *His* soul was not left in hell, neither *His* flesh did see corruption. This Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we all are witnesses' (Acts ii. 23-32). In the very next address it is repeated. 'The God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob, the God of our fathers, hath glorified His Son Jesus, whom ye delivered up and denied Him in the presence of Pilate, when he was determined to let Him go. But ye denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto you, and killed the Prince of life, whom God hath raised from the dead ; whereof we are witnesses. . . . Unto you first God having raised up His Son Jesus, sent Him to bless you in turning away every one of you from His iniquities. (Ib. iii. 13-15, 26). And in the next address we find : 'Jesus

Christ of Nazareth whom ye crucified, whom God raised from the dead' (*Ib.* iv. 10). And still again in the next address: 'The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged upon a tree. Him hath God exalted with His right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins. And we are His witnesses of these things, and so is also the Holy Ghost whom God hath given to them that obey Him' (*Ib.* v. 30, 32). Here two of the results of the death and exaltation of Christ are also named—forgiveness and the gift of the Holy Ghost. Again in the interview with Cornelius: 'Whom they slew and hanged upon a tree, Him God raised up the third day' (*Ib.* x. 38). And at Antioch: 'And when they had fulfilled all that was written of Him, they took Him down from the tree and laid Him in a sepulchre; but God raised Him from the dead' (*Ib.* xiii. 29-30). And at Thessalonica we read, 'And Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them and three Sabbath days reasoned with them out of the Scriptures, opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead, and that this Jesus whom I preach unto you is Christ' (*Ib.* xvii. 2, 3).

In these passages we find the first articles of the faith of the first Christians. They are:—

The Messiahship of Jesus.

His Crucifixion.

His Death.

His Burial.

His Resurrection.

These five articles in a very short time took the form

Faith of the Earliest Christians

of: 'I believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, who suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and the third day He rose again from the dead.'

In the first Apostolic sermon, as we have seen, the words of the Psalmist were quoted: 'Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption,' and the prediction was applied by St Peter to Jesus Christ: 'He (David) seeing this before, spake of the resurrection of Christ, that *His* soul was not left in hell, neither did His flesh see corruption' (Acts ii. 27, 31). The meaning of the expression 'hell,' as used here, is not the place of torment, but merely 'the state of the dead,' and the prophecy, expounded by St Peter, implies that our Lord entered into that state on His crucifixion; for He must have entered into it if it could be said that He 'was not left' there. The truth under consideration being thus involved in the fact of His death, was always believed from the beginning, but it did not find its expression in the Creed for some four hundred years. Then it appeared in this form:—

'He descended into hell.'

Closely connected with the Death, Burial, Descent and Resurrection of Christ were His Ascension and Session at the right hand of the Father, the last of which signified His entering on His regal office. And consequent upon the Ascension and Session was the fulfilment of the promise of the Presence of the Holy Ghost, holding on earth the office of Vicar of the ascended Lord (John xvi. 7; Acts i. 4). These two points were therefore dwelt upon in the Pentecostal address: 'Therefore being

by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, He hath shed forth this which ye do now see and hear. For David is not ascended into the heavens, but he saith himself, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit Thou on My right hand until I make Thy foes Thy footstool." Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus whom ye have crucified both Lord and Christ' (Acts ii. 33-36). Henceforth, that is, from the very beginning, the Lordship or royal estate of Christ in Heaven and the Vicarial Presence of the Holy Spirit on earth are taught as part of the Faith. It is Jesus who is 'both Lord and Christ.' It is Jesus who is 'the Prince of Life whom God hath raised from the dead' (*Ib.* iii. 15). It is Jesus whom 'God exalted with His right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour' (*Ib.* v. 31). It is the Holy Ghost who is the author of the Pentecostal effusion (*Ib.* ii. 33). The Holy Ghost is given by God to those that obey Him (*Ib.* v. 32). The Holy Ghost was given by the laying on of the Apostles' hands (*Ib.* viii. 17; xix. 6). The gift of the Holy Ghost was poured on the Gentiles (*Ib.* x. 45). The Holy Ghost ordered the appointment of Barnabas and Saul (*Ib.* xiii. 2). The Holy Ghost made the clergy overseers of the flock (*Ib.* xx. 28). These three articles in a very short time took the form :—

'He ascended into Heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty. I believe in the Holy Ghost.'

Another article of faith, as taught by the Apostles, and therefore held by their converts, is found in the

next address recorded by St Luke after that on the day of Pentecost. 'He shall send Jesus Christ which before was preached unto you: Whom the heaven must receive until the times of the restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all His holy prophets since the world began' (Acts iii. 20, 21). This truth they had themselves been taught by the two angels who consoled them at the time of the Ascension (*Ib.* i. 11). It is repeated by St Peter when addressing Cornelius: 'He commanded us to preach unto the people and to testify that it is He which was ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead' (*Ib.* x. 42); and by St Paul preaching to the Athenians: 'He hath appointed a day in the which He will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom He hath ordained; whereof He hath given assurance unto all men, in that He hath raised Him from the dead' (*Ib.* xvii. 31).

This truth took shape thus:—

'From thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.'

The Israelites were aware that the Messiah was to be the Son of God. 'Certain it is,' says Pearson, in his *Exposition of the Creed*, 'that all the Jews, as they looked for a Messiah to come, so they believed that Messiah was to be the Son of God'; and this is plainly indicated by such texts as John i. 49; xi. 27; vi. 69; Matthew xxvi. 63, which show the belief of Jews, before they became Christians, on the point. They knew too that the Messiah was to come of the lineage of David, and St Peter in his Pentecostal address reminded his hearers that this

Scriptural and Catholic Truth

must be, for David himself, he says, knew 'that God had sworn with an oath to him that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh he would raise up Christ (the Messiah) to sit on his throne.' When therefore it was announced, and they were convinced, that Jesus was the Messiah, they would at once have concluded that He was to be descended from David, and, as a matter of fact, they were well aware that He was the son of Mary (Matt. xiii. 55), and also that she as well as Joseph was of the house and lineage of David, for the descendants of David were as well known among the Jews as the descendants of Mohammed are among Mohammedans. Here then was another article of faith held by all the earliest Christians (who were also Jews), which took the form: 'Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.'

Thus the whole of the doctrine respecting Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost, embodied in the Apostles' Creed, was the faith of the first Christians from the day of Pentecost onwards.

As long as the first preachers of Christianity were addressing their countrymen the Jews, it was not necessary for them to instruct their hearers as to God the Father. There were no Jews that did not believe from the bottom of their hearts in God, whom they regarded as their Father (Is. lxiii. 16), able to do all things (Is. xiv. 27; Dan. iv. 35; Job xlvi. 1), the creator of the world and preserver of all things (Gen. i. 1; Is. xlvi. 12). To the Jews all that the Apostles had to teach was the higher sense of God's paternity by which He was the Father of Christ, and this

Faith of the Earliest Christians 50

was sufficiently done in their preaching the Messiahship of Jesus. But as soon as the Gospel had to be offered to the Gentiles more instruction was required as to God the Father. Accordingly, Paul and Barnabas preaching to the Lycaonians at Lystra bid them 'turn from their vanities to the living God, which made heaven and earth and the sea and all things that are therein' (Acts xiv. 15). With even greater plainness St Paul taught the Athenians: 'God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that He is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with men's hands as though He needed anything, seeing He giveth to all life and breath and all things, and hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him, though He be not far from every one of us; for in Him we live and move and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also His offspring' (*Ib.* xvii. 24-28). Thus we see taught from the beginning faith in 'God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.'

The effect of preaching Christ crucified and ascended was to create a yearning desire on the part of the hearers for forgiveness of their sins. They were pricked to the heart and said, Men and brethren, what shall we do? (Acts ii. 37). The teaching of the Apostles was that Christ was exalted to be a Prince and Saviour to give forgiveness of sins (*Ib.* v. 32). How were they to attain to this blessing? St Peter answered, 'Repent and be baptized,

every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins' (*Ib.* ii. 38). Repentance would qualify them for baptism, and baptism (not, let it be noted, absolution) was the means specially appointed by which remission of sins might be received. Christ had promised that His Apostles should have the power of (ministerially) forgiving sins (John xx. 23), and this was the way in which that promise was fulfilled; they were authorised to baptize those whom they judged to be penitent, and by baptizing them they admitted them into the company or family of those that were forgiven for Christ's sake. This family or company of the forgiven was the Church, and accordingly all those who on the day of Pentecost obeyed St Peter's exhortation to 'save themselves from this untoward generation' (Acts ii. 40) were added by the Lord to the Church. 'The Lord added unto the Church daily such as were being saved' (*Ib.* ii. 47).

Here we find two more articles of the first Christian faith. 'The forgiveness of sins,' which was expanded by the Nicene Council into 'One baptism for the remission of sins,' without any change of meaning; and 'The Church,' which was 'holy' because it consisted of those who, being penitent, had received remission of their sins on being admitted into it, and because it was constituted by the Holy Ghost, who was the informing spirit which united all its members into one body and who dwelt in the hearts of each of them singly. The characteristic of the Church as 'Catholic' was probably not realised by the Apostles themselves until the admission of Cornelius and his associates. Then St Peter, astonished at what took place, learnt that

Faith of the Earliest Christians §•

'God was no respecter of persons, but in *every nation*' (not only the Jewish nation) 'he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him' (Acts x. 34), and he commanded the Gentiles present 'to be baptized in the name of the Lord,' that is, be admitted into the Church (*Ib.* x. 48). And on his report of what had occurred, the disciples at Jerusalem acknowledged that 'God hath also to the Gentiles granted repenances unto life.' But still, so strange did it appear that the Church should be a world-wide, catholic institution instead of being confined to the nation of the Jews, that it was necessary for the synod of Jerusalem to be held, to finally determine the question of the admission of the Gentiles. From that time forward it was known and taught that the Church was not only holy but also catholic—'The Holy Catholic Church.'

The general Resurrection of the dead was taught by teaching the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, and that, we have seen, was the first truth imparted. It was for this reason that the Sadducees became the first persecutors of the Apostles, because 'the Sadducees say there is no resurrection nor spirit' (Acts xxiii. 8), and they 'were grieved that they' (the Apostles) 'taught the people and preached through Jesus the resurrection from the dead' (*Ib.* iv. 2). They would have been indifferent to the spread of Christianity had it not involved the preaching of the Resurrection, which they held to be impossible, and which the philosophic Athenians afterwards mocked at (*Ib.* xvii. 32). At a later date St Paul dogmatically stated many particulars respecting the doctrine of the Resurrection of the dead, declaring its connection with Christ's Resurrection

and showing that it meant not only a future life of the soul but a rising again of the spiritualised body (1 Cor. xv.). These particulars had to be given, to meet some active opposition at Corinth. But the doctrine itself was taught from the beginning—‘The Resurrection of the body.’

The truth that after the Resurrection the blessed should enjoy Everlasting Life, being a necessary consequence of the Resurrection and of God’s promises to the righteous, did not take its place in the earliest Creeds, except in that of Irenæus, nor do we read of its being inculcated as a truth separate from the Resurrection in the Acts of the Apostles. In this respect it was like that other clause in the Creed, ‘The Communion of Saints,’ which is implicitly contained in the previous clause, ‘The Holy Catholic Church,’ for if the Holy Ghost dwells in the Church, its members must have communion or fellowship, through Him, both with God and with one another. So ‘The Life Everlasting’ is contained in the previous clause—‘The Resurrection of the body.’

The above are the truths which, we learn from the Acts of the Apostles, were taught to the first Christians and so became their faith. But the first preachers were not contented with merely announcing the great Christian truths. Before admitting anyone into the sacred company by baptism, they tested him to see if he was acquainted with them and had embraced them not only singly but in their relation one to another. For this purpose a formula was evidently desirable and was sure to arise, and the Apostles’ Creed, teaching in short compass what the Apostles taught, was thus employed, whence it has

Faith of the Earliest Christians §

obtained the name of the Baptismal Creed. Of course it took a little time to arrive exactly at its present shape, but essentially it was the same as it is now from the beginning. In its earliest recorded form as given by Irenæus, A.D 180, it ran as follows:—

‘The Church, though spread throughout the whole world to the end of the earth, received from the Apostles and their disciples its belief in—

‘One God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth and sea and all that in them is ; And in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was incarnate for our salvation ; And in the Holy Ghost, who by the prophets preached His dispensations and advents ; And His birth of a Virgin ; And His passion ; And His rising from the dead ; And the bodily Ascension into heaven of our beloved Christ Jesus, our Lord ; And His future coming from heaven in the glory of the Father, to gather all things in one ; And to raise from the dead all flesh of all mankind, in order that to Christ Jesus, our Lord and God and Saviour and King, according to the pleasure of the unseen Father, every knee may bow of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth and that every tongue may confess Him ; And that He may pass just judgment on all, sending into eternal fire spiritual wickednesses, and the angels that have transgressed and become apostate, and men that are impious and unjust and lawless and blasphemous, and giving life to the just and pious and to those who have observed His commandments and remain in His love, some from the beginning of their lives and some after repentance, and

may grant unto them immortality and invest them with eternal glory' (*Contr. Hær.* i. x. 1).

The same ancient writer makes another quotation of the Baptismal Creed which shows that the wording of the formula was not always the same though the articles of belief were in no way different.

'We believe in one God, Maker of heaven and earth and all things that are therein; Through Jesus Christ, His Son; Who for His exceeding love towards the work of His hands, endured birth from a virgin, by Himself uniting man to God; And He suffered under Pontius Pilate; And He rose again; And He was received into brightness; And He will come again in glory, the Saviour of those that are saved and the Judge of those that are judged, and sending into eternal fire corrupters of the truth and despisers of His Father and of His Coming' (*Ib.* iii. iv. 1).

Hence it appears that as early as the second century, though the wording of the formula was not everywhere the same, every article of the Baptismal Creed, as we have it now, was not only believed but was regarded as a sufficient declaration of the Christian Faith; and that it was held by all Christians because originally taught by the Apostles and their disciples (11)—I say every article, for the two clauses that do not appear in St Irenæus's Creed, 'He descended into hell,' and 'the Communion of Saints' were taught by implication, as is said above, though not explicitly, in 'He was dead,' and in 'I believe the Holy Catholic Church.'

Faith of the Earliest Christians

NOTES

(¹) 'I adore the perfection of Scripture. . . . If it is not written' (in Scripture) 'let them fear the woe which is destined for them who add to or take away.'—Tertull., *Adv. Hermog.* c. 22.

(²) 'The two Testaments . . . in which every word that appertains to God may be sought out and discussed, and from them all knowledge of things may be understood. If anything remain, which Holy Scripture does not determine, no third Scripture ought to be had recourse to . . . but that which remains we must commit to the fire, *i.e.*, reserve it to God; for God would not have us know all things in the world.'—Origen, *Hom. v. in Levit.*

(³) 'There is one God whom we do not otherwise acknowledge but out of the Holy Scriptures. . . . Whosoever will exercise piety towards God can learn it nowhere but from the Holy Scriptures.'—Hippol., *Contr. Haer. Noeti.* c. 9.

(⁴) 'The holy and divinely inspired Scriptures are of themselves sufficient to the enunciation of truth.'—Athan., *Contra Gentes*, I. Again, 'In these alone the doctrine of salvation is contained. Let no man add to or take from them.'—*Fest. Epist.* 39.

(⁵) 'Concerning the divine and holy mysteries of the faith, even the most casual remark ought not to be delivered without the Holy Scriptures.'—Cyril, *Catech.* iv. 12.

(⁶) 'It is a manifest defection from the faith, and a proof of arrogance, either to reject anything of what is written or to introduce anything that is not.'—Basil, *De Fide*, I.

(⁷) 'How can we use those things which we find not in the Scriptures?'—Ambrose, *Offic.* i. 23.

(⁸) 'We deny not those things which are written, and we refuse those which are not written. That God was born of a Virgin we believe because we read; that Mary married after she gave birth to Him we believe not because we read not.'—Jerome, *Adv. Helvid.* *juxta finem*.

(⁹) 'The canon of Scripture is perfect and most abundantly sufficient for all things.'—Vincent., Lirin., *Commonit.* c. 2.

(¹⁰) 'All things that are delivered to us by the Law, the Prophets, the Apostles, and the Evangelists, we receive, acknowledge and reverence, seeking for nothing beyond these.'—Joan. Damsc., *De Orthod. Fide*, c. 1.

(¹¹) 'This collect or symbol of propositions is that which we call the

Scriptural and Catholic Truth

Apostles' Creed, which I shall endeavour to prove to have been always in the primitive Church esteemed a full and perfect digest of all the necessary and fundamental articles of Christian religion ; and that beyond this the Christian faith or the foundation was not to be extended ; but this, as it was in the whole complexion necessary, so it was sufficient for all men unto salvation.'—Jeremy Taylor, *Dissuasive from Popery*, II. i. 4. The whole of the first section of the *Liberty of Prophecying* is also devoted by Taylor to the proof of this point. 'The Church hath power to *intend* our faith, but not to *extend* it ; to make our belief more evident, but not more large and comprehensive. . . . If we have found out what foundation Christ and His Apostles did lay, that is, what body and system of articles, simply necessary, they taught and required of us to believe, we need not, we cannot, go any further for foundation, we cannot enlarge that system or collection.'

CHAPTER II

THE RELIGION OF THE EARLIEST CHRISTIANS

THE faith of a Church or any other society is a body of Truths, external to the minds of the members of the Church or society, which they are invited and required to accept. Their religion, when distinguished from their faith, is something personal, subjective, emotional. It is not belief only, though belief produces it; it is not an act only, though acts spring from it so necessarily that their absence proves its absence. It is essentially a feeling, having for its object, first, God as revealed by the specific statements of the faith, and then man for God's sake.

The first religious feeling demanded by the Apostles on the day of Pentecost was repentance. 'When they heard this,' that is, the Messiahship, the crucifixion, death, burial and resurrection of Christ, 'they were pricked in their heart and said unto Peter and the rest of the Apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Then Peter said unto them, Repent' (Acts ii. 37). The repentance primarily required of them was no doubt repentance for their share in their country's sin in having put Christ to death. But true repentance on one point makes a man a penitent on all, for it consists in a horror of having offended

God, recognised as the supreme object of love, and when once that horror is truly felt, it flashes a light through a darkened soul and compels the sinner to see all the offences of which he may have been guilty towards God, and does not allow him to pause until he has humbly asked forgiveness for all of them. No doubt a man may be sorry for wrong-doing from a variety of motives other than the love of God, but that sorrow does not amount to repentance. After true repentance he is a new creature. 'Repent and be converted' (Acts iii. 19).

The attitude of mind necessary for apprehending and embracing spiritual truths of any kind is belief or faith. This precedes even repentance, for repentance would not arise except from belief in the truths which produce it. Belief or faith is the eye that sees, the hand that grasps the truths; and the character of the religious emotions felt by the heart depends upon the nature of the truths thus seen and grasped. When the fact of God being our creator, Christ our redeemer, the Holy Ghost our sanctifier, has been realised by faith, at once religious regards towards the three Persons of the Holy Trinity necessarily arise, not from our faith but from the facts which our faith has made us realise; and we cannot help feeling awe, gratitude and love towards them; and that awe, gratitude and love will result in obedience to the Divine commands and resignation to God's Will. When by faith we have apprehended the relation in which we stand to others, as children of the same Father, redeemed by the same Saviour, inspired by the same Spirit, from that relation, so apprehended, arises the feeling of love of one to another; and

Religion of the Earliest Christians §.

that love, superseding the necessity of all positive commandments, will cause us to do our duty towards our neighbour and show brotherly kindness in our dealings with him.

To know then what was the religion of the earliest Christians we have to ask ourselves what are the religious affections naturally resulting from their being awakened to the truths of their faith. What feeling does the consciousness of God being our Father and Creator arouse? Awe and piety. Of Christ being Incarnate and dying for us? Gratitude and love. Of His rising again and Ascension? Spiritual joy and triumph. Of the future judgment? Fear and trust. Of the coming of the Holy Ghost? Humility and love. Of our belonging to the Holy Catholic Church? Brotherly kindness. Of our being vouchsafed forgiveness of our sins? Thankfulness. Of our being granted a resurrection and eternal life? Hope. When we regard religion, as we do now, not as identical with or including the faith, but as the emotional state of the soul which follows from the particular truths of which the faith consists, we cannot define it with exactness; we can only say that it is the sum of the pious feelings necessarily and rightly arising from the various articles of faith that have been embraced. Whatever pious feelings would arise from realising the truths of the Gospel as summed up in the Baptismal Creed, that was the religion of the earliest Christians.

CHAPTER III

THE INSTITUTIONS AND RITES OF THE EARLIEST CHRISTIANS

1. ON the day of Pentecost the Church was instituted. From the time of the Ascension to the day of Pentecost the disciples had not formed a united body. They had been a company of individual believers who had lost their Head and were waiting for the fulfilment of a promise, the nature of which was more or less concealed from them. On the day of Pentecost they became combined once more into one body, the indwelling of the Holy Ghost forming the bond of cohesion—a bond far stronger than anything external could have been. And to this body the three thousand souls that were then converted were united, and all those who by faith and repentance 'saved themselves' from the perishing world were afterwards added to it (*Acts* ii. 40, 47). It was not enough to believe the spiritual truths that the Apostles taught. The new converts 'continued in the Apostles' doctrine,' that is, they believed all that was taught them and did not innovate on that teaching, but that was not all ; they had to continue 'in the Apostles' fellowship' (*Ib.* ii. 42), that is, they were to remain in the same society as the Apostles, and this society was the Church. A little later they were taught that this Church was invisibly ruled, through visible ministers, by the Holy Ghost (*Ib.* xx. 28), and was a sacred thing purchased by the blood of the Son of God (*Ib.*).

Institutions of the Earliest Christians 50

2. The door into the Church was Baptism. The three thousand had to be baptized in order to enter the Church of the saved (*Ib.* ii. 47). The Samaritan converts were baptized (*Ib.* viii. 12). The eunuch was baptized (*Ib.* 38). Even Saul, though miraculously converted, was baptized (*Ib.* x. 47). The Philippine jailer was baptized (*Ib.* xix. 3). What other way could there be, when this was the way into the Church that had been appointed by Christ (Matt. xxviii. 19)? On the first occasion of Christian baptism St Peter said, 'Repent and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins.' Every convert who was baptized had his sins thereby forgiven him, because it was by baptism, as the final step, that he entered the company of the forgiven. On the day of His resurrection our Lord had promised His Apostles—'Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained' (John xx. 23). This promise was accomplished by their admitting some into covenant and refusing others. Those whom they baptized were thereby made members of a body whose sins, through the adoption in Christ, were remitted; those who were not baptized were left outside in the kingdom of the prince of this world and remained still in their sins. There is a very probable allusion to the promise of John xx. 23, 'Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted,' in St Peter's words—'Be baptized . . . *for the remission of sins*,' and 'Save yourselves from this untoward generation' whose sins, through their not being admitted into the Church, were retained (Acts ii. 38, 40).

3. Another institution, ordained by Christlike baptism

was the Lord's Supper. The 'breaking of bread' spoken of in the Acts is a general term which sometimes does and sometimes does not refer to the Lord's Supper. In the account of St Paul's shipwreck (Acts xxvii. 25) it certainly means merely taking food. In the description of the daily life of the first disciples 'breaking bread at home' is further explained as 'eating their meat with gladness and singleness of heart,' and refers only to their meals (*Ib.* ii. 49). But when the same disciples are said to have 'continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship and breaking of bread,' it is more probable that the Lord's Supper is meant, and this almost certainly seems to have been the case when the disciples at Troas 'came together to break bread on the first day of the week' (*Ib.* xx. 7). The reason why the expression covers the administration of the Holy Communion is that the latter took place during the first century at a meal. Determined to carry out as fully as possible the Lord's injunction to do what was done at the Last Supper, the Apostles and disciples met each Sunday evening and re-enacted, so far as was possible, the whole of the Last Supper. Of course there was no lamb eaten because the type represented by the lamb was fulfilled, and as the use of unleavened bread was only the accidental effect of the Last Supper having fallen on the days of Unleavened Bread it was not continued. But all the faithful of the neighbourhood assembled, the richer members of the community supplied provisions, and the Master's Last Supper was, with the necessary changes, re-enacted. Towards the end of the meal, at the same time in it that the Lord had instituted His Memorial, bread and wine were placed before the

presiding presbyter and solemnly blessed by him as the symbols of the Body and Blood of their departed Lord, and partaken by all in solemn silence as a memorial of Him. Then the meal continued, and at the end of it, thanksgiving for the whole was offered and psalms or hymns were sung. This was the form of the Administration of the Holy Communion down to apparently the year 110, when, owing to the prohibition, by Trajan's orders, of evening meetings, the celebration of the Holy Communion was transferred to the forenoon and the meal to mid-day.

4. The earliest Christians met also not only for the Lord's Supper, but for common prayers and hymns and exhortations (Acts. ii. 42). At first no doubt the prayers were extempore, but it is of the nature of extemporaneous addresses, frequently repeated, to become after a time forms; we know from Justin Martyr and the 'Teaching of the Apostles,' that when the minister was competent, even the consecration prayer in the Holy Communion was still extempore down to the middle of the second century. We have an example of the Apostolic Church's prayers in Acts iv. 24-30. On that occasion the prayer consisted chiefly of thanksgiving for the deliverance of Peter and John; at other times it might have been penitential or merely supplicatory. We can only judge of what it is likely the common prayers would have been by our knowledge of the faith which all shared and of the special circumstances in which the Apostolic Church from time to time found itself. (1)

5. Connected with the institution of Common Prayer

was the sanctification of the first day of the week. Being Jews as well as Christians, down to the admission of the Gentiles the early Christians all observed the Sabbath on the last day of the week (Acts xiii. 14; xvi. 13; xvii. 2; xviii. 4, 21). But the essential principle of the original Sabbath was passing over from the seventh day on which God rested from His work of creation, and Christ from His work of redemption to the first day, on which Christ rose from the dead, thus hallowing that day above all others. Accordingly, we find the disciples at Troas assembling as a matter of course on the first day of the week (Acts xx. 7).

6. A special institution following upon baptism and preceding Holy Communion was Confirmation or laying on of hands. When the Samaritans had been converted to Christianity by Philip the Deacon, 'they were baptized' by him, 'both men and women.' Philip could do no more, and therefore 'when the Apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John. . . . Then laid they their hands upon them and they received the Holy Ghost' (Acts viii, 12, 14, 17). Again, after the Ephesian converts, who had received only John's baptism, had been baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, 'when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came upon them and they spake with tongues and prophesied, and all the men were about twelve' (*Ib.* xix. 5-7).

7. A rite not common to all, like Baptism, Confirmation, and the Lord's Supper, but peculiar to one order of men, was Ordination by which the ministers of the Church were set apart for the service of God. The Twelve Apostles had

Institutions of the Earliest Christians 6

been ordained by Christ Himself, and Matthias had been solemnly appointed to take the place of Judas (Acts ii. 22-26) during the time of waiting between the Ascension and Whitsuntide. After the descent of the Holy Ghost the form of Ordination, like Confirmation, was that of laying on of hands. The seven deacons, having been selected by the general body of the disciples, were brought to the Apostles and ordained by prayer and laying on of hands (*Ib.* vi. 6). The presbyters likewise were ordained by Apostles (*Ib.* xiv. 23) and by the same form of laying on of hands, as we learn from 1 Tim. v. 22; 2 Tim. i. 6. Even St Paul had to be so ordained before his first missionary journey—‘The Holy Ghost said, “Separate me Barnabas and Paul for the work whereunto I have called them,” and when they had fasted and prayed and laid their hands upon them, they sent them away’ (*Ib.* xiii. 2).

The institutions and rites of the earliest Church then were: 1. The Church herself to which they belonged. 2. Baptism by which they were admitted into the Church. 3. The Lord’s Supper. 4. Common Prayer. 5. The Lord’s Day. 6. Confirmation. 7. Holy Orders.

NOTE

(¹) It is hardly necessary to say that to attribute the Liturgies to the time of the Apostles owing to their bearing the names of St James and St Mark and St Peter and St John is merely an error. They are so called because founded on the Liturgies used in the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome and Asia Minor, whose histories are more or less connected with those Apostles, and they did not take their present shapes till the seventh century, down to which time they were frequently altered and interpolated.

CHAPTER IV

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH

IN the earliest times the government of the Church was vested entirely in the Apostles, each of whom, it would seem, had equal authority with every other over the whole Christian body. But as the Church grew and 'the number of disciples was multiplied' the Apostles found themselves incapable of bearing the burden of the whole superintendence required. First, therefore, they devolved upon seven assistants—known as the seven deacons—the more secular part of their office (Acts vi. 1-6). And when their service was still found insufficient, they ordained elders or presbyters or priests (the word priest being only a shortened form of the word presbyter) to supervise congregations of converts to whose wants they could not themselves continuously attend. We have no account of their institution, beyond the fact that they were ordained by Apostolic authority, but at the Council of Jerusalem we find them as a recognised order of the ministry, and they are established in all the churches founded by St Paul. From their office of supervising congregations they were at first called bishops, which means supervisors, as well as presbyters, which means elderly persons.

Government of the Church

As the Apostles died, it was necessary to supply their place with an order of men to whom should be committed the care of the various congregations and their ministers, which the Apostles had hitherto exercised. We have specimens of these officers in Timothy and Titus, who were superior to the ordinary presbyters in charge of only single congregations, and inferior to the Apostles, not only because the office of the Apostle, who was a witness for the Lord, was necessarily unique, but also because the sphere of their authority, although, like that of the Apostles, in theory conterminous with the whole Church, was practically in normal times limited to a certain sphere. An exemplar of this office is found, even in the life of the Apostles, in St James, who was put in special authority in the city of Jerusalem, as is shown by the significant use of his name in Acts xii. 17 ('Go show these things unto James and the brethren'); Gal. ii. 12 ('Certain came from James,' meaning the Church of Jerusalem); Acts xxi. 8 ('Paul went in with us unto James and all the Elders were present'); and still more plainly by the position which he took at the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem ('James answered saying. . . My sentence is'). The order of men foreshadowed by James, and first presented to us in Timothy and Titus, received the name of bishop or supervisor as being more suitable to them than to the presbyters who had hitherto borne it owing to their supervision of individual congregations.

In the earliest times, therefore, we find the government of the Church vested in (1) Apostles, (2) Presbyters, (3) Deacons, and as the Apostles died in (1) Bishops, (2) Presbyters, (3) Deacons. There were no other permanent

Scriptural and Catholic Truth

officers except these, though there were evangelists or preachers to unbelievers, whose office was sometimes combined with that of the deacons (Acts xxi. 8) and in a little while was swallowed up in that of the presbyters. And there were prophets, that is, men and women who had the gift of preaching and expounding, who became an important body in the sub-Apostolic age, but, like the evangelists, became absorbed in the presbyters. And there were persons to whom were vouchsafed the gifts of speaking with tongues (*Ib.* ii. 4; x. 46; xxi. 9) and the interpretation of tongues, but they did not form an order.

CHAPTER V

THE WITNESS OF THE EPISTLES

THE purpose of this chapter is to show that the Epistles testify to the same faith, religion, institutions and Church government as we have found from the Acts to have been the faith, religion, institutions and Church government of the earliest Christians.

1. No addition is made in the Epistles to the number of the articles of the faith concisely taught in the Baptismal Creed. But we naturally find an expansion of them. The first-taught articles of the Christian Creed, which we saw were the Messiahship, the crucifixion, death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, are enforced in the Epistles—of course I give but few specimens out of many. The Messiahship including the Sonship, Lordship, Incarnation. ‘Concerning His Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared to be the Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness by the resurrection from the dead’ (Rom. i. 3, 4) : ‘Christ who is the image of God’ (2 Cor. iv. 4) : ‘The image of the invisible God’ (Col. i. 15) : ‘His dear Son’ (*Ib.* 13) : ‘With all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord, both theirs and ours’ (1 Cor. i. 2) : ‘When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them

that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons' (Gal. iv. 4). His crucifixion, death and burial—'We preach Christ crucified. . . . Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God' (1 Cor. i. 23): 'This He did once, when He offered up Himself' (Heb. vii. 27): 'For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh but quickened by the Spirit' (1 Pet. iii. 18). His resurrection—'Now is Christ risen from the dead' (1 Cor. xv. 20): 'Jesus Christ, of the seed of David, was raised from the dead' (2 Tim. ii. 8). Expansions of the above articles—Christ the foundation; 'For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ' (1 Cor. iii. 11): Christ the head 'That He might gather together all things in Christ': 'And gave Him to be head over all things to the Church' (Eph. i. 10, 22): 'The Head even Christ' (*Ib.* iv. 15): 'He is the Head of the body the Church' (Col. i. 18). His Majesty—'He is before all things and by Him all things consist. . . . For it pleased the Father that in Him should all fulness dwell' (Col. i. 17-19). His humility—'Though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor' (2 Cor. viii. 9): 'Who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be' (or did not eagerly grasp at being) 'equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation and took upon Him the form of a servant and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross' (Phil. ii. 6-8). Christ the Reconciler—'God hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ' (2 Cor. v. 19): 'But now in Christ Jesus ye who sometimes were far off, are made nigh

Witness of the Epistles §•

by the blood of Christ; for He is our peace. . . . Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints and the household of God' (Eph. ii. 13, 19). Christ the Mediator—'There is one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus' (1 Tim. ii. 5). Christ the Advocate—'We have an Advocate . . . Jesus Christ the righteous, and He is the propitiation for our sins' (1 John ii. 1). Christ the Redeemer—'In whom we have redemption by His blood' (Eph. i. 7).

The Epistles in like manner show that the Ascension of our Lord, His Session at the right hand and the consequent coming of the Holy Ghost were parts of the earliest Faith. 'He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens' (Eph. iv. 10): 'Received up into glory' (1 Tim. iii. 16): 'A great High Priest that has passed into the heavens' (Heb. iv. 14): 'Made higher than the heavens' (*Ib.* vii. 26): 'Sat on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens' (*Ib.* viii. 1): 'He set Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places' (Eph. i. 20): 'Where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God' (Col. iii. 1): 'When He ascended up on high. . . . He gave gifts' (of the Holy Spirit) 'unto men' (Eph. iv. 8): 'There are diversities of gifts, but the same spirit. . . . All these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will' (1 Cor. xii. 4, 11): 'God who hath also given us His Holy Spirit' (1 Thess. iv. 8).

The faith on the Second Coming of Christ is confirmed by Phil. iii. 20—'Heaven, from whence also we look for our Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ,' and is expanded by 1 Thess. iv. 16—'For the Lord Himself shall descend from

heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel and with the trump of God'; and 2 Thess. i. 7—'The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with His mighty angels.'

So on the belief in God the Father Almighty, Maker of all things—'To us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things and we in Him' (1 Cor. viii. 6): 'One God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in you all' (Eph. iv. 6).

The two next points—the forgiveness of sins and the Holy Catholic Church—are thus recognised: 'In Christ we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace' (Eph. i. 7): 'Justified by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus' (Rom. iii. 24): 'Christ loved the Church and gave Himself for it, that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the Word, that He might present it to Himself a glorious Church' (Eph. v. 25): 'Ye are the body of Christ' (1 Cor. xii. 27): 'The household of God' (Eph. ii. 19): 'That the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs and of the same body' (Eph. iii. 6): 'He is our peace, who hath made both (Jew and Gentile) 'one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition . . . for through Him we both have access by one Spirit to the Father' (Eph. ii. 14, 18).

On the Resurrection of the body and the life Everlasting we find in the Epistles: 'As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. . . . For the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible' (1 Cor. xv. 22, 52): 'He that raised up Jesus from the dead shall

Witness of the Epistles 50

also quicken our mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in us' (Rom. viii. 11) : 'The dead in Christ shall rise first, then they which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall ever be with the Lord' (1 Thess. iv. 16) : 'He shall change our vile bodies that they may be fashioned like unto His glorious body' (Phil. iii. 21) : 'An inheritance, incorruptible and undefiled and that fadeth not away, reserved in heaven for you' (1 Pet. i. 4).

The Epistles then bear witness to the faith being still the same as that taught by the first preachers to their converts, and while they expand, they add no new article to the articles already inculcated and believed. If there are any that appear new, they will be found to be covered by the clauses of the Baptismal Creed ; *e.g.*, the dogmas of election and predestination (Rom. viii. 30 ; Eph. i. 4) necessarily follow (in their Scriptural meaning) from the sovereignty of God, and an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of God is included in the confession that He is Almighty ; the dogma of Salvation by grace, otherwise expressed as Justification by faith (Eph. ii. 8 ; Rom. iii. 24 ; Gal. ii. 16) is a consequence from the death of Christ combined with the forgiveness of sins ; the dogma of regeneration (Tit. iii. 5) follows on belief in the Holy Ghost and His operations.

2. The religious emotions demanded of the first converts were, as we have seen, repentance and faith. And so in the Epistles. In Heb. vi. 1 we find 'repentance from dead works and faith towards God' declared to be 'foundations,' the basis of personal piety. In 2 Cor. vii. 10 the Apostle distinguishes between 'godly sorrow,' which

‘worketh repentance unto salvation not to be repented of,’ and ‘the sorrow of the world,’ which ‘worketh death,’ and he rejoices in his converts being filled with ‘godly sorrow.’ He tells the Romans that they must not ‘be conformed to this world but transformed by the renewing of their mind’ (Rom. xii. 2); which consists in ‘putting off concerning the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts,’ being ‘renewed in the spirit of their mind,’ and ‘putting on the new man which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness’ (Eph. iv. 22). Again he describes the temper of mind of the Christian as one that ‘looks not at the things which are seen but at the things which are not seen’ (2 Cor. iv. 18); ‘For we walk by faith’ (*Ib.* v. 7); and a whole chapter in the Epistle to the Hebrews is devoted to exhibiting the effects of faith (Heb. xi.). It may be thought that the two Christian graces of Hope and Love are added; for we read in the Epistles: ‘We are saved by Hope’ (Rom. viii. 24), and ‘Now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three, and the greatest of these is charity’ (1 Cor. xiii. 13). But while in mental analysis we may properly distinguish hope and love and faith, yet the faith that was required of the first converts was a faith which included both hope and love. In the Acts of the Apostles St Paul professes that he entertained ‘the hope of the resurrection of the dead’ as part of the faith for which he was called in question (xxiii. 5); and that he had ‘hope toward God that there shall be a resurrection of the dead both of the just and the unjust’ (xxiv. 15). He therefore taught hope from the beginning, but he taught it as a part of faith. So as to love. There is a faith which is simply

Witness of the Epistles 50

intellectual apprehension, such as devils can have and tremble, but such is not the faith of the Christian. That is a faith which includes love and brings forth fruits. While therefore the Epistles may seem to add to the original repentance and faith newness of life, hope, love and obedience, there is no real change, because newness of life is implied by true repentance, and hope, love and obedience by faith.

3. The institutions and rites of the earliest Christians were, we have seen—(1) the Church, (2) Baptism, (3) the Lord's Supper, (4) Common Prayer, (5) the Lord's Day, (6) Confirmation, (7) Ordination.

(1) The Church is found all through the Epistles as an institution as well as an article of faith, of which a sufficient proof is that St Paul's Epistles were addressed to one and another of the particular Churches which together formed the Church Catholic.

(2) That the Christian Sacraments are two—Baptism and the Lord's Supper (and only two)—is indicated in 1 Cor. x. by a parallel drawn between them and the Jewish baptism unto Moses and the Jewish spiritual meat and drink in the wilderness. In the Epistle to the Hebrews 'the doctrine of baptisms' is declared to be 'fundamental' (vi. 1). All that are baptized into Christ are said in the Epistle to the Galatians to 'put on Christ' (iii. 27). Baptism is even said to 'save us' (1 Pet. iii. 21), that is, to be the means by which we are placed in a state of salvation among the forgiven, saved from the world lying in wickedness, according to the promise of John xx. 23.

(3) Of the Lord's Supper we learn somewhat both from

St Paul's statement that it is 'the communion,' that is, the means of partaking 'of the body and blood of Christ' (1 Cor. x. 16), and from his reproof of the Corinthians for the way in which the institution had been abused by them (1 Cor. xi. 17). From the latter passage we learn that the sacred elements were still distributed during the evening meal of the faithful in which they re-enacted, so far as was possible, the Last Supper of the Lord. It was this meal to which Jude refers under the name of the feast of charity or Agape (verse 12). The Lord's Supper, thus celebrated, was regarded as so essential a part of the Christian rites that it is clear that St Paul instituted it in all the Churches which he formed, and even when it was abused, as it was at Corinth, he forbade the abuses, but made no serious change in the manner of the celebration nor in the hour at which it was celebrated.

(4) The practice of meeting for common prayer and exhortation is brought before us by the Apostle's reproofs in 1 Cor. x. : 'If the whole Church be come together into one place' (showing that that was their practice) 'and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned or unbelievers, will they not say that you are mad?' (x. 33); 'When ye come together' (plainly their usual practice), 'every one of you hath a psalm, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation' (*Ib.* 26). And again the instruction, 'Let your women keep silence in the churches' (*Ib.* 34), testifies to the custom of meeting. Liturgical forms are evidently still wanting.

(5) The observance of the Lord's day is shown in the same Epistle—'Upon the first day of the week let every

Witness of the Epistles

one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him' (1 Cor. xv. 2).

(6) Confirmation or laying on of hands is joined with Baptism as a fundamental in Heb. vi. 1.

(7) The conditions of Ordination are laid down in detail in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus: those selected for priests and deacons are to be married men (1 Tim. iii. 5, 12) of high character (*Ib.* 2, 8).

One other institution or rite is found—that of Excommunication (1 Cor. v.; 2 Cor. ii.). But even this is not new, for it is a power involved in the idea of the Church. Any self-governed community must have the right of excluding from its body an unworthy member and of readmitting him when he has proved himself deserving of restoration, and this authority had been specifically given to the Church by our Lord in John xx. 23.

Marriage was not an institution peculiar to Christianity, as it had existed from the beginning of the world, but a specially religious character was attached to it, and that of a Christian kind, through the analogy drawn between the husband and wife and Christ and the Church (Eph. v. 24).

4. The Epistles witness to the continuance of the government of the Church by Apostles, Presbyters (otherwise called Bishops) and Deacons. St Paul claims everywhere his Apostolic authority (1 Cor. iv. 21; Gal. i. and ii.). He addresses the Epistle to the Philippians to 'the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi with the bishops' (*i.e.*, presbyters) 'and deacons' (Phil. i. 1). He authoritatively gives instructions as to the offices of bishop (presbyter) and deacon in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, and he

appoints Timothy and Titus to exercise the office of Apostolic deputy, afterwards called bishop, over the other presbyters (1 Tim. 5. i. 22; 2 Tim. iv. 2; Tit. i. 3). The prophets or expounders of Scripture, of whom there is slight mention in the Acts, now take a more prominent place (1 Cor. xiv.), which they retain for some time, as witnessed by the 'Teaching of the Apostles,' a treatise written probably about the year 100. They did not however form an order, but were men endowed with a special spiritual gift, that of exposition, as others were vouchsafed the gifts of speaking with tongues, interpretation of tongues, powers of healing and performing other miracles (1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11). These gifts were gradually withdrawn as the Church established herself, and with their withdrawal those who had received them died out or were absorbed in the three permanent offices of Bishop, Priest (Presbyter) and Deacon. In this way there ceased the practice of anointing the sick for recovery from sickness (James v. 14). This was a practice of Apostolic days, when the gift of healing still existed in the Church, and though revived and practised for a different purpose in the unreformed Churches, is no more a function of the permanent ministerial office than speaking with tongues or raising from the dead.

CHAPTER VI

THE FAITH AND RELIGION OF THE SUB-APOSTOLIC AGE

No exact limit can be laid down between the Apostolic, the sub-Apostolic, and the early primitive Church, for the Apostle St John lived on to the year 100 A.D., that is, into the sub-Apostolic age, and the sub-Apostolic age passed imperceptibly into that which succeeded it. But speaking broadly, we may regard the sub-Apostolic age to begin and end with the second century. Our question now is, What were the faith, the religion, the ecclesiastical institutions and the form of the ministry in the period, subsequent to the Scriptural record, which begins and ends with the second century? To learn this, we must examine the works of the chief writers in that period. These are, chronologically arranged, an Epistle falsely attributed to Barnabas but probably belonging to the first century, about A.D. 80; an Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, A.D. 95; Hermas's Shepherd, A.D. 100; an anonymous treatise known as 'The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' A.D. 100; the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch, A.D. 110; the Letter of Polycarp, A.D. 120; the writings of Justin Martyr, A.D. 150; of Tatian, A.D. 150; of Athenagoras, A.D. 170; of Theophilus, A.D. 175; of Irenæus, A.D. 180; of Clement of Alexandria, A.D. 190; of Tertullian, A.D. 195.

In these works, and the fragments of contemporaries that have come down to us, we find no change in the articles of faith.

The Epistle of Barnabas (so called) is directed against the Judaising and materialising spirit which is so vehemently assailed by St Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians, and its argument is that even those Jews that were saved were saved not by the forms and ceremonies of Judaism but by the Christianity that was latent in it. He seems to have taken his text from Gal. iii. 1, 2 : 'O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you? . . . This only would I learn of you, Received ye the spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?'

The greater part of the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians is an enforcement of St Paul's injunction to unity addressed to the same Church (1 Cor. xi. 17, 19), further arguments in favour of the Resurrection, in which the writer appears to have had St Paul's teaching in 1 Cor. xv. before him, and a panegyric of charity, similar to that of St Paul in 1 Cor. xiii.

Hermas was probably a Roman Christian at the end of the first century, and is not to be confounded with the Hermas mentioned in Scripture. He wrote a fantastic book of visions, which would not have received so much notice had it not been supposed that he might have been the Scriptural Hermas. He testifies to the faith in God the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and in the Resurrection. He emphasises the necessity of baptism, and the value of repentance. The term 'bishop' as used by him still applies to 'presbyters,' and the prophets of 1 Cor., *i.e.*, those who had the grace of exposition, are active.

Religion of the Sub-Apostolic Age

The treatise called 'The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' for the most part consists of pious instructions for continuing in the way of Life and avoiding the way of Death, similar in character to the precepts with which St Paul ends most of his letters. The only article of the faith which it touches upon is the Second Coming of the Lord, which it describes as being preceded by the appearance of Anti-christ, and by signs in the heavens, as St Paul teaches in the Epistle to the Thessalonians. In respect to Ecclesiastical institutions, we find that the Lord's day was observed, and that the Holy Communion still made a part of the evening social meal of the faithful, and we learn that for the thanksgiving or consecration prayer that preceded the distribution, if a prophet (here nearly equivalent to a man of education or learning) were present, he was to use such extempore prayer as he pleased, but in his absence the officiator was to use a form as follows:—

'First concerning the cup: "We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David, Thy Servant (or child), which Thou hast made known to us by Jesus, Thy Servant (or Child). To Thee be the glory for ever." And concerning the broken bread: "We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou madest known unto us through Jesus, thy Child. To Thee be the glory for ever. As this bread which we break was once scattered over the hills and gathered together it became one, so may Thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power, through Jesus Christ for ever"' (ch. ix.).

The thanksgiving after reception was to be made not

immediately that the bread and wine had been received, but at the end of the meal, and it was to be as follows :—

‘ After ye are filled, thus give thanks : “ We give thanks to Thee, Holy Father, for Thy Holy Name, which Thou madest to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith of immortality, which Thou madest known to us through Jesus Thy Child. To Thee be the glory for ever ! Thou, Almighty Lord, didst create all things for Thy name’s sake and didst give food and drink to men for enjoyment, that they may give thanks unto Thee ; and on us Thou bestowedst spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Child ; and above all we give thanks to Thee for Thy power. To Thee be the glory for ever ! Remember O Lord, Thy Church, to deliver it from all evil, and to perfect it in Thy love, and gather it from the four winds, the sanctified Church, into Thy kingdom, which Thou didst prepare for it ; for Thine is the power and the glory for ever. Let grace come and let this world pass away ! Hosanna to the Son of David ! If any be holy, let him come ; if not, let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.” And allow the prophets to offer what Eucharistical prayers they please ’ (ch. x.).

From the same treatise we find that adult baptism took place preferably by dipping in running water, or ‘ if thou hast not living water, baptize into other water, cold or warm ’ ; but if this cannot readily be done, then ‘ pour water upon the head thrice in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.’ The person to be baptized is ‘ to fast one or two days previously ’ and also

Religion of the Sub-Apostolic Age 50

'let him that baptizes and any others that can, fast' (ch. vii.). No such regulation is given as to fasting before Holy Communion, nor could the practice have existed while the Holy Communion was administered together with the Agape or evening meal.

Wednesdays and Fridays are appointed by the treatise as fasts, and it recommends saying the Lord's Prayer three times a day. In respect to the ministry we find bishops (*i.e.*, presbyters) and deacons. Prophets and teachers are still prominent, specially prophets, as in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The first fruits are to be given to the prophets, or if there be none, to the poor (ch. xiii.).

Ignatius's Letters do not deal with the faith except incidentally (as when they say that wherever Christ is, there is the Catholic Church). They are for the most part exhortations to live piously, from which may be gathered the religious spirit of the sub-Apostolic Church. Of the precepts contained in them the following is a specimen:—

'Pray without ceasing for the rest of mankind (for there is in them a hope of repentance) that they may find God. Therefore let them take lesson at least from your works. Against their outbursts of wrath be mute; against their proud words be humble; against their railings set your prayers; against their errors be steadfast in the faith; against their fierceness be gentle, and do not aim to imitate them by requital. Let us show ourselves their brothers by our forbearance; let us zealously imitate the Lord, vying with one another, who shall suffer the greatest wrong, who shall be defrauded, who shall be set at nought; that no lust of the devil be found in you; but in all purity

and temperance abide in Christ Jesus with your flesh and with your spirit' (*Ad Ephes.* x.).

In respect to institutions and rites, we find the Holy Communion still connected with the Agape or evening meal (See *Ep. ad Smyrnæos*, ch. viii., with Bishop Lightfoot's note). Ignatius uses some strong expressions regarding the benefits of Holy Communion. The one loaf is the medicine of immortality and the antidote of death (*Ad Ephes.* xx.); the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins (*Ad Smyrn.* vi.). But he explains that the flesh and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ are faith and love (*Ad Trall.* viii.). This is a favourite idea with him; in the Epistle to the Romans he cries out, 'For a draught I desire the blood of Christ which is love incorruptible' (ch. vii.). There is nothing materialising in that.

On Church government he urges the authority of the bishop, in the later sense of the word (He was himself Bishop of Antioch), as a means of preserving unity. This is the first time that 'bishop' means the highest order of the ministry, all the Apostles having now passed away. The chief purpose of Ignatius in writing his letters seems to have been the maintenance of the unity of the now wide-spreading Christian body, no longer held together by Apostolic authority. No better way occurred to him, and probably no better way could have been found, considering that the mass of Christians was made up of devout but uneducated men, than that of urging men to hold fast by their ministers. If they did that, they would be sure of remaining in 'the Apostles' fellowship,' that is, the body instituted by the

Religion of the Sub-Apostolic Age 50

Apostles and now governed by their successors, and being in that fellowship they would be safe of continuing likewise in 'the Apostles' doctrine' as delivered by them to their first converts; they would be 'inside the altar' (*i.e.*, the Church)⁽¹⁾ 'and not be deprived of the bread of God'. (*Ad Ephes.* v.). So he bids them 'be subject to their bishop and presbytery' (*Ad Ephes.* ii.). 'The bishop is to preside in the place of God, the presbytery in that of the Apostolic college⁽²⁾ and the deacons are entrusted with the office of serving Christ' (*Ad Magnes.* vi.). Of the three he seems to speak with the greatest affection of the deacons, who are 'most sweet' to him, and are his 'fellow-servants.' The prophets are now disappearing, the spiritual gift with which they had been endowed being withdrawn. A class of 'widows,' mentioned also by St Paul (1 Tim. v. 9), is found existing, into which unmarried women as well as widows might be admitted (*Ad Smyrn.* xiii.).

Polycarp's Letter to the Philippians, like Ignatius's Letters, is mainly hortative, but it begins with a statement of the Resurrection of Christ, His Session at the right hand, His Lordship in Heaven, and His Second Coming to judge the quick and the dead, and our resurrection. Whoever did not confess Christ was Antichrist, and any who tampered with the oracles of the Lord and denied the future resurrection and judgment was the first-born of Satan (ch. vii.). The following precepts, specimens of others, show that the religious spirit was the same as at the beginning:—

'Neither I nor such as I can equal the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul, who, when he was with you in person, taught the word of truth with exactness and stead-

fastness, and when he was not with you, wrote letters, by earnestly looking into which you may be built up with the faith imparted to you, which is the mother of us all, hope following upon it and love to God and Christ and our neighbour leading us onward. For whoever is inspired by these hath fulfilled the commandment of righteousness; for he that has love is far from all sin' (ch. iii.).

'Stand steadfast in these things and follow the example of the Lord, firm in faith and immovable, lovers of the brethren, kindly affectioned one towards another, united in truth, showing one to another the gentleness of the Lord, despising no one' (ch. x.).

Polycarp teaches the duties of presbyters and deacons (ch. vi. 5) much as St Paul does, and incidentally notices that one of the presbyters was married (ch. xi.). He was very sorry, he says, for his wife, because her husband had done wrong.

In connection with Polycarp's Letter we may add that there is extant a 'Letter of the Church of Smyrna,' giving an account of his martyrdom in that city, which by anticipation condemns the worship of saints and relics as a superstition which Christians could never sink to.

'The wicked one, seeing the greatness of his martyrdom and his blameless conversation from the beginning, and seeing him crowned with the crown of immortality, having won a prize which none could deny, took pains that not even his poor body should be taken up by us, though many desired to do this, and to have fellowship with (to touch) his holy flesh. So he induced Nicetes, Herod's father, and brother of Alce, to beg the magistrate not to

Religion of the Sub-Apostolic Age

give up his body, lest, said he, they leave the crucified one and begin to pay divine reverence to this man. And this he did, at the suggestion and on the urgency of the Jews, who were also on the watch when we were about to take him from the fire ; for they did not know that it is impossible that we shall ever leave Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of those who are saved, the innocent for the guilty, nor could we ever pay divine reverence to anyone else ; for Him, being the Son of God, we worship, but the martyrs, as disciples and followers of the Lord, we love as they deserve, for their unsurpassed affection to their own king and teacher, with whom may we be also fellow-sharers and fellow-disciples' (ch. xvi.).

Justin Martyr was a philosopher and an apologist. We should therefore expect to find in him a more formal statement of the Christian faith than in those already referred to. And this is the case. We have in him all the articles of the Christian belief ; but there is nothing new, nothing which he adds to the Apostolic teaching in the Acts and the Epistles as forming a part of the Catholic, *i.e.*, common, faith of Christendom. I will take the Baptismal Creed by which to test him. We find in his writings the doctrine, though not the name of the Holy Trinity (*Apol.* i. 6, 13) ; of God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth (*Ib.* 10 ; *Apol.* ii. 4) ; of God the Son eternally born of the Father (*Ib.* 6 ; *Dial.* 129), and therefore pre-existent before His birth into the world (*Apol.* i. 23 ; *Dial.* 48) ; Incarnate in time (*Apol.* i. 5, 31 ; ii. 13 ; *Dial.* 100) ; crucified (*Apol.* i. 35 ; *Dial.* 46) ; dead and risen again (*Apol.* i. 28 ; *Dial.* 107) ; of the Ascension (*Apol.* i. 50, 51) ; of the

Session at the right hand and the Second Coming and Future Judgment (*Ib.* 45, 60; *Dial.* 14, 31, 110); of the Holy Ghost (*Dial.* 88); the holy Catholic Church, in which is found the Communion of Saints (*Dial.* 63, 119); the forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake (*Ib.* 44); the resurrection of the body (*Apol.* i. 18); life everlasting and eternal punishment (*Ib.* 8, 28; ii. 1, 9).

Beside repentance, faith, hope and love, Justin, like St Paul, teaches the inspiration of Scripture (*Dial.* 65, 92); original sin (*Apol.* i. 10); reconciliation by Christ's death (*Dial.* 95); justification by His blood through faith (*Ib.* 13); the necessity of piety (*Apol.* i. 12, 17); the folly of image worship ⁽³⁾ (*Ib.* 9); and the folly of material sacrifices (*Ib.* 10). These articles of theology and religion he describes as the common property of Christians; but there is one tenet which he says is not held by all, though he holds it himself—the tenet of the millenium—and that is the only doctrine that he teaches which is not a necessary part of our present Christian belief in the Church of England. Whether that doctrine be true or not depends upon the interpretation of Rev. xx. 1-6. There are some among us who believe it, as there were some in the early Church that believed it, but it has never been a dogma of the Church.⁽⁴⁾

The ordinances of the Church of which Justin speaks are two, and two only—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. For adult baptism he says that conversion, repentance, steadfast purpose to lead a new life, prayer and fasting are the necessary previous conditions, and that upon it follow regeneration and incorporation into the Christian body.

Religion of the Sub-Apostolic Age 50

In respect to the Lord's Supper a change had occurred in the hour of its celebration. Down to about the year 110 the Lord's Supper had consisted of a re-enactment, so far as was possible, of the Last Supper on Sunday evening, during which the bread and the wine were blessed and distributed. But in or about that year Trajan, for political reasons, forbade any evening gatherings. Consequently, the Eucharist and the social meal were both transferred to the Sunday forenoon, and after the matin prayers there were celebrated first the Holy Communion and then the social meal, within the walls of the church. Justin's description of the Holy Communion is as follows: 'On the day which is called Sunday there is an assembly in the same place of all who live in cities or country districts; and the records of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read as long as we have time. Then the reader concludes, and the president verbally instructs and exhorts us to the imitation of these excellent things; then we all together rise and offer up our prayers; and when we have concluded our prayer, bread is brought and wine and water; and the president in like manner sends up prayers and thanksgivings as well as ever he can; and the people give their assent by saying Amen; and there is a distribution, and a partaking by every one, of the Eucharistic elements; and to those who are not present they are sent by the hands of the deacons; and such as are in prosperous circumstances, and wish to do so, give what they will, each according to his choice; and what is collected is placed in the hands of the president, who assists the orphans and widows and such as, through sickness or any other cause, are in want; and to those who are

in bonds and to strangers from afar, and, in a word, to all who are in need, he is a protector' (*Apol.* i. 67).

From this and a similar descriptive passage immediately preceding we see that the Holy Communion was celebrated after the morning service on Sunday, that it was administered to all present (non-communicating attendance being unknown), and in both kinds (half communion being unknown), having been consecrated by the presiding minister and distributed by the deacons, that the wine used was wine tempered with water according to the common custom of the country, not mixed ceremonially at the moment, that no previous fasting was required, though it was for adult baptism, and had now become possible through the change of hour that had been made, and finally that the bread and the wine were not reserved, though they were carried, if there were need, to a brother absent from sickness or any such cause. Justin says that Christians did not receive the bread and wine as 'ordinary food or ordinary drink,' but that while our bodies received nourishment from them by assimilation, we were taught in the Gospel that they were the body and blood of Christ. The only sacrifices offered by Christians and acceptable to God are, he says, prayers and thanksgivings; 'for these are the only sacrifices that Christians have been taught to do, in remembrance both of their food and drink and also in commemoration of the passion endured for their sakes by the Son of God' (*Dial.* 117). Here there are three things to notice—first, that Justin formally denies the character of a sacrifice to the Holy Eucharist, except so far as it is an offering of prayers and thanksgivings, which he declares to be the only sacri-

Religion of the Sub-Apostolic Age 50

fices of Christians; next, that the Holy Eucharist was regarded by the early Christians as a thanksgiving to God, not only for the blessings derived to us from Christ's death, but also for the preservation of our lives by the food and drink of daily use. This thought Justin repeats more than once, and we shall find the idea universally entertained by the early Christians down to the middle of the third century. Thirdly, Justin's use of the word 'do' suggests that he is referring to, though not exactly quoting, our Lord's words, 'This do in remembrance of Me.' That the word 'do' has a sacrificial signification is a modern gloss, resting on no adequate foundation, unknown not only to the primitive but also to the Mediæval Church and to all but the very latest development of sacerdotal needs among ourselves. Not even the Roman Liturgy recognises it, which has: 'As oft as ye *do these things*' (not sacrifice this bread) 'ye shall do them in remembrance of Me.'⁽⁵⁾

The nature of the Christian worship in Justin's days is shown by the following passage:—

AD 160

'We worship the Creator of the universe, not with blood, libations and incense (which we are sufficiently taught He has no need of), but we exalt Him to the best of our power with the reasonable service of prayer and thanksgiving in all the oblations that we make Him, having been instructed that the only service that is worthy of Him is, not to consume by fire the creatures that He has given us for our sustenance, but to apply them to our use and to the good of those that are in need, and to show our gratitude to Him by offering to Him solemn prayers and hymns in acknowledgement of our creation, preservation, and the blessings that we

derive from things about us and from the change of the seasons, putting up prayers that we may have a resurrection to life incorruptible, through faith in Him. Our teacher of these things is Jesus Christ, who was born for this purpose, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judaea in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar ; whom having learned Him to be the Son of the Very God, and holding Him to be in the second place, and the Spirit of Prophecy in the third, I will prove that we worship with reason' (*Apol.* i. 13).

Sunday is stated by Justin to be the day of the week 'on which we all hold our common assembly,' and the reasons that he gives for this are that it was the first day of the Creation and the day of Christ's Resurrection : 'For the day before that of Saturn He was crucified, and on the day after it, which is Sunday, He appeared to His Apostles and disciples and taught them what we have delivered also to you for your consideration' (*Ib.* 67).

It is somewhat singular that neither bishop nor presbyter is named by Justin. The person who blesses the bread and wine is called the president or leading man among the brethren (*Ib.* 65, 67). The deacons are recognised as the officers who distributed the consecrated elements both to those present and those who had to be absent.

Tatian. We need not pay so much attention to Tatian as to Justin Martyr. In his earlier life he made a philosophic defence of the doctrines of God, and of the Logos or Word, and of the Holy Spirit, and of the Resurrection, and wrote the earliest Harmony. In his later life he became heretical, joining the sect of the Encratites.

Athenagoras, an apologist of the middle of the second

Religion of the Sub-Apostolic Age

century, witnesses to the tenets of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and of the resurrection, the final Judgment and eternal life. The following is an eloquent statement by him of the doctrine of Christian Sacrifice in the sub-Apostolic age: 'Now as to our not sacrificing, the Creator and Father of all does not want blood or fat or sweet savour from flowers or incense, being Himself the perfection of sweet savour, wanting nothing, requiring nothing. But the greatest sacrifice that we can offer to Him is to know who stretched out the vault of heaven and fixed the central earth ; who gathered the waters into the seas ; who adorned the sky with the stars and made the earth produce seed ; who made the animals and created man. When we apprehend the creative God as sustaining and watching over the universe with that wisdom and skill with which He ever works, and raise up holy hands to Him, what hecatomb is then wanted ? Why should I seek after burnt sacrifices which God needs not ?' (*Leg. xiii.*). (6)

Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, was the first writer to express the doctrine of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost by the words *Trias* or *Trinity*, which, of course, added nothing to the received doctrine. He witnesses also to the belief in the Resurrection and Eternal Life and to the practice of baptism and to the authority of the Old Testament.

Irenæus, I have already shown, testified to the Church's maintaining in his day all the articles of the Baptismal Creed, and these he declares that it held as the orthodox faith, received from the beginning and taught everywhere, in contrast to the novel dreams of heretics. He says :—

'The Church, having received this preaching and this

faith, although scattered throughout the whole world, yet, as if occupying but one house, carefully preserves it. She also believes these points just as if she had but one soul and one and the same heart, and she proclaims them and teaches them and hands them down, with perfect harmony, as if she possessed only one mouth. For although the languages of the world are dissimilar, yet the import of the tradition is one and the same. For the Churches which have been planted in Germany do not believe or hand down anything different, nor do those in Spain, nor those in Gaul, nor those in the East, nor those in Egypt, nor those in Libya, nor those which have been established in the central regions of the world. But as the sun, that creature of God, is one and the same throughout the whole world, so also the preaching of the truth everywhere shineth and enlightens all men that are willing to come to a knowledge of the truth. Nor will any one of the rulers of the Churches, however highly gifted he may be in point of eloquence, teach doctrines different from these (for no one is greater than the Master); nor on the other hand will he who is deficient in power of expression inflict injury on what is handed down. For the faith being ever one and the same, neither does one who is able at great length to discourse regarding it, make any addition to it, nor does one who can say but little diminish it. It does not follow, because men are endowed with greater or less degrees of intelligence, that they should therefore change the subject-matter of the faith itself' (*Adv. Hær.* i., x. 2). (?)

And again :—

‘The Lord of all gave to His Apostles the power of

Religion of the Sub-Apostolic Age

preaching the gospel, through whom we also have known the truth, that is, the doctrine of the Son of God ; to whom also the Lord declared, " He that heareth you, heareth Me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me and Him that sent Me." We have learnt from none others the plan of our salvation, than from those through whom the gospel has come down to us, which they at one time preached and at a later period, by the will of God, handed down to us in the Scriptures, to be the ground and pillar of our faith. For it is unlawful to assert that they preached before they possessed perfect knowledge, as some even ventured to say, boasting themselves as improvers of the Apostles' (*Ib.* iii. 1).

Besides the articles of the Apostles' Creed, Irenæus dwells on the authority of Holy Scripture and the use of a genuine tradition, not as an independent source of truth, but as interpretative of Holy Scripture. His chief task is the refutation of Gnosticism.

The ordinances which he recognises are, as usual, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Treating of the Eucharist, he affirms emphatically that God accepts no sacrifices except those of contrition and faith and obedience and righteousness, and he teaches that the Church's sacrifice in the Eucharist is a thank-offering to God for the fruits of the earth which preserve life and a memorial of the sacrifice of the death of Christ. This is the New Oblation of the New Covenant taught by Christ in contradistinction to the sacrifices of the Old Covenant, and God accepts it at our hands not for His benefit, but for ours, because it is good for us to be grateful (*Adv. Hær.* iv. 17, 18, and *Frag-mentum Secundum*).

Clement of Alexandria was a philosophic writer whose speculations belong rather to the next century in their character. His account of the relations subsisting between faith and love and knowledge are full of interest.

Tertullian is as decisive as Athenagoras and Justin Martyr in his declarations of the spiritual character of the sacrifices of Christians. 'We do sacrifice,' he says, 'but in the way which God hath commanded; that is, by prayer alone; for God the Creator of the universe does not need any incense or blood' (*Ad Scap.* ii.). 'I offer Him a rich and greater host which He has commanded; that is, prayer from a chaste body, an innocent mind and a sanctified spirit, not pennyworths of frankincense, tears of the Arabian tree,' etc. (*Apol.* xxx.). 'Prayer (with Psalmody) is the spiritual host which has done away with the ancient sacrifices. We (Christians) are the true worshippers, the true priests, who, praying in the Spirit, in the Spirit offer God's proper and acceptable sacrifice of prayer, which He has demanded and appointed for Himself; this it is we must bring to the altar of God' (*De Orat.* xxvii.).

The use of the word 'host' in two of the above passages should be carefully noted. From it, as well as from other sources, we may see that the word 'host,' materialised as it now is, meant originally no more than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. The 'sacrifice of thanksgiving' in Lev. vii. 13 is rendered by the Vulgate version 'host of thanks'; in Lev. xxii. 29 'sacrifice of thanksgiving' is rendered as 'host for thanksgiving'; in Psalm cxvi. 17 the Septuagint version has 'sacrifice of praise,' the Vulgate, 'host of praise.' In accordance with

Religion of the Sub-Apostolic Age 50

this usage we find in the Liturgies 'victim of praise' and 'host of praise' meaning no more than 'sacrifice of praise.' This is a specimen of the way in which a word, originally spiritual in its signification, was afterwards materialised. A sacrifice or offering of praise and thanksgiving becomes a transmuted piece of bread and an object of worship.⁽⁸⁾

Tertullian shows us that for the second time a change had been made in the hour of celebrating the Agape or feast of charity. Originally the Lord's Supper was, as we have seen, a re-enactment, with some necessary change, of the Last Supper, celebrated every Sunday evening, and so it continued till about the year 110 when it was transferred to the forenoon, and its order was so far dislocated that what had been the second part of it was celebrated before the other part instead of toward the end of it, the common meal taking place in the church after the more religious service was over, at about midday. The change had been made in consequence of the imperial laws which prohibited evening meetings. After a time, probably in the reign of Commodus, A.D. 176, the pressure of these laws was relaxed and the common meal was re-transferred to the evening, while the more sacred service continued to take place in the morning after the matin prayers or even occasionally (Tertull. *De Corona* iv. 3) after the early or before-daylight service. The two parts of the original Lord's Supper thus became entirely separated and were never again combined. The evening meal, now severed from the administration of the Eucharist, is thus described by Tertullian in his defence of Christian practices:—

'It allows nothing vile, nothing immodest. Men do not

sit down to meat till they have first tasted of prayer to God. They eat as much as hungry men desire ; they drink as much as is good for chaste men ; they satisfy their appetites as men who remember that they have to worship God by night as well as by day. They talk as men who know that the Lord hears them. After water for the hands and lights have been brought in, they sing, according as each is able, Psalms out of the Holy Scripture or hymns of his own composition in honour of God and in the presence of the rest. From this it is seen to what extent he has been drinking ! Prayer concludes the feast as well as opens it. Then they go away, not forming bands to commit violence, nor for running to and fro, nor for lasciviousness, but careful as before of modesty and chastity, like men who have not so much supped as been to a school of philosophy' (*Apol.* xxxix.).

Tertullian also proves to us that marriage was now regarded as a religious ceremony. Among non-Christians marriages were arranged by persons called *conciliatores*, then an offering of *arrhae* or earnest money was made at the espousals, and marriage tablets were signed in the presence of witnesses. Tertullian, referring to these ceremonies, writes, 'How shall I state the blessedness of a marriage which the Church conciliates or brings about and the oblation confirms, and the benediction seals, angels attest and the Father ratifies ?' (*Ad uxor.* ii. 8). This shows the practice of Christians in his day, according to which the place of *conciliatores* was taken by the bishops, priests, deacons, and widows (Tertull. *De pudicitia* iv. ; *De monogamia* xi. ; Ignatii *Epist. ad Polyc.* v.), the offering or

Religion of the Sub-Apostolic Age §•

oblation of the *arrhæ* was replaced by the offering of prayer and alms made through the priest (that there is any reference to the oblation of the Holy Communion is a mistake), for the sealing of the marriage settlements is substituted the seal of the Church's blessing, the testimony of angels stands for that of the witnesses, and the ratification by a heavenly Father takes the place of the expressed consent of the parents. This rhetorical description does not mean that the old ceremonies were abolished, but that an ecclesiastical character was imparted to them, and that they were carried out under the control and by the hands of the ministers of the Church—which is indeed foreshadowed by St Paul in Eph. v. For Christian Marriage is now a religious institution, but there is no hint of its being regarded as a sacrament until the ninth or tenth centuries, when the Church ceremony of solemnising matrimony was first required by Charlemagne in the West and by Leo the Philosopher in the East.

The discipline of Penitence, culminating in Excommunication, or accepted as a substitute for it, foreshadowed in 1 Cor. and 2 Cor., in Clement of Rome (ch. lvii.), and in Hermas (iii. 5), looms larger in Tertullian (*Apol.* xxxix. and *De Pænitentia* ix.), but we have not yet quite reached the ordinance of Public Penitence as it existed in the next three centuries.

After an examination of all the chief writers of the period, we find that the faith of the Christians of the second century, like that of the Christians of the first century, was no more than the Baptismal Creed known ordinarily as the Apostles' Creed. And we find that the religious

feelings demanded of Christians were, as before, repentance, faith, hope, and love, putting on different forms according to circumstances. The ministry we find still threefold, those appointed to govern others, such as Timothy and Titus, having now the name of bishop (which had at first belonged to the presbytery), the other two orders, the presbyters and deacons, remaining as before. Prophets and evangelists, very prominent at the beginning of the century, while the extraordinary gifts of exposition and preaching prevailed, have died away by the end of the century. Ecclesiastical institutions are, as before, the Church itself, which is the company of all faithful people, Baptism, which is the door of entrance into that company and puts the recipient in a new relation to God, the Lord's Supper, being at once a thanksgiving for the fruits of the earth, a memorial of the sacrifice of Christ's death, and a means whereby the benefits of His death are conveyed to the penitent soul, was at first celebrated on Sunday evening in conjunction with the common meal known as the feast of charity, but later on was transferred from the evening to the forenoon, while the common meal, having for a time taken place at midday, was re-transferred to the evening. Confirmation and Ordination remained as before, being administered by the bishop, and in the case of Confirmation immediately after adult baptism. The Lord's day was likewise observed without material change.

NOTES

(¹) In the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians modest and pious women are termed 'altars of God' (ch. iv.).

(²) The idea of the presbytery being 'the representatives of the

Religion of the Sub-Apostolic Age

Apostles, counsellors of the Bishop and the crown of the Church' is found also in the Apostolic Constitutions II. xxviii.

(³) 'We worship not with frequent sacrifices and garlands of flowers those whom men have made and placed in temples and called gods ; for we know that they are senseless and inanimate and have not the form of God ; for we do not consider that God has such a form as that in which some say that they represent Him for the sake of worship . . . for why should I relate to you who know it, how the workmen manage their materials, carving, cutting, casting and hammering them, and often from vessels of dishonour, by merely changing their shape through their craft and giving them a form, they make what they call gods. This we regard not only as senseless but as an insult to God who has both a form and a glory ineffable, but whose name is thus transferred to objects that are perishable and require to be taken care of. . . . O fatuity as of one struck by thunder that licentious men should be said to form and fashion gods for you to worship, and that such should be constituted keepers of the temples in which they are enshrined, not seeing that it is unlawful even to think or to say that men are guardians of the gods.'—Justin, *Apol.* i. 9.

(⁴) 'In the first age after the Apostles, Papias pretended he received a tradition from the Apostles, that Christ before the day of judgment should reign a thousand years upon earth, and His saints with Him in temporal felicities ; and this thing, proceeding from so great an authority as the testimony of Papias, drew after it all or most of the Christians in the first three hundred years. For besides that the millenary opinion is expressly taught by Papias, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Origen, Lactantius, Severus, Victorinus, Apollinaris, Nepos, and divers others famous in their time, Justin Martyr in his Dialogue against Tryphon says it was the belief of all Christians exactly orthodox ; and yet there was no such tradition but a mistake of Papias ; but I find it nowhere spoken against till Dionysius of Alexandria confuted Nepos's book and converted Coracion the Egyptian from the opinion.'—Jeremy Taylor, *Liberty of Prophesying*, 5.

(⁵) Seeking for an argument favouring the sacrificial character of the Holy Communion, a few modern writers (none of them scholars) have fixed on the word 'Do,' and have said that it means 'Sacrifice.' The word is used 550 times in the New Testament and never means 'sacrifice,' but it happened that in the Septuagint the Alexandrian translator occasionally wrote 'do' or 'perform a sacrifice' in order to avoid the tautology of 'sacrifice a sacrifice.' On no better ground than this these writers say that the words 'Do this in remembrance of

Me' mean 'Sacrifice this,' though the sense of 'sacrifice' is not imposed upon 'Do' by the context, which would alone justify that secondary sense. Neither grammar, history, nor theology will admit of such an interpretation. It is merely a modern buttress for a pre-accepted idea. Dr Mason allows that all the Greek Fathers, with the exception, as he supposes, of Justin Martyr, and he might have added all the Latin to the Greek Fathers, treat the words as meaning 'Perform this action,' and 'do not give so much as a hint to the contrary' (*Faith of the Church*, p. 328). An unprimitive doctrine has to be supported by an unprimitive wresting of Holy Scripture.

(6) To the words quoted in the text there is attached the following sentence: 'And yet we should offer an unbloody sacrifice and bring Him our reasonable service.' If this is not a note added by a later hand (it has the air of one, but is generally counted genuine) we have in Athenagoras the first example of the use of the phrase 'unbloody sacrifice,' and if he is referring by it to the Holy Communion he counts the Eucharistic sacrifice to be the same thing as 'our reasonable service,' which St Paul says is the presentation of ourselves a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God (Rom. xii. 1).

(7) For exactly similar sentiments see Jeremy Taylor, *Ductor Dubitantium*, II. iii. §§ 77, 78, and *Liberty of Prophesying*, 12, 13.

(8) The word *hostia* or *host* is used by the Vulgate for the Sin-offering, Burnt-offering and Peace-offering. Christians have no Sin-offering nor Burnt-offering except the one offering on the Cross, the virtue of which is continuous. Their Peace-offering is the 'sacrifice of praise' (Heb. xiii. 15), that is, the joyous offering of a grateful heart, and that there may be no materialising misconstruction of words, we are told distinctly that what is meant by the 'sacrifice of praise' is no material offering, but 'the fruit of our lips giving thanks to His Name' (*Ibid.*). The only Christian *host* is the immaterial sacrifice of prayer and praise and thanksgiving.

CHAPTER VII

THE WORSHIP OF THE SUB-APOSTOLIC AGE

IN respect to common worship, we are able now to gain a clearer view than before of the form and manner in which it was conducted. Common worship began very early in the day, some two or three hours before daylight. The reason of this hour being originally fixed was the desire of the Christians, when under persecution, to avoid the observation of the heathen. On account of the hour at which it was held, it was called the Ante-lucan or Before-daylight Service. It consisted of confession of sins, psalms, hymns, prayers, lessons from Holy Scripture, ending with the fifty-first Psalm, recited or chanted in common. There was no Holy Communion, as a rule, at this service.

At daybreak the congregation broke up and its members returned to their homes for refreshment. About nine o'clock they re-assembled for the chief service of the day, called Missa, because all but the communicants were in turn dismissed from it. It was divided into two parts. The first part consisted of psalms, hymns, lessons from the Old and New Testament, a sermon or sometimes two sermons, preached the first by a presbyter, the second by a bishop. Down to this point any heathen might be present, but as soon as the prayers began the heathens were dismissed. The

first prayers were for the catechumens, that is, for those who were preparing for baptism, and when they were ended, the catechumens were dismissed. Prayers were then offered for the possessed, after which they were dismissed, and then the candidates for immediate baptism were treated in like manner, being in their turn dismissed, and lastly most of the penitents were dismissed. Then began the Missa or Service of the Faithful, which was confined to the communicants ; and all the faithful, that is, all full Christians, were expected to be communicants. This second part of the service commenced with a litany, and then came the offertory, made by the people, not at first in money, but in kind, consisting chiefly of bread and wine. From these oblations of the people were taken the bread and wine for consecration. These were brought by the deacons to the bishop, to be consecrated by him in a prayer containing the recitation of the Scriptural words of institution and invocation of the Holy Ghost. All the congregation then communicated in both kinds, receiving the bread and the cup in their hands from the clergy, who used a particular form of words to each communicant as they offered him the elements. After the reception came further prayers, hymns and thanksgivings, at the end of which the bishop's blessing was given, and the congregation was dissolved with the words : ' Go, it is dismissal.'

But though the congregation was dissolved its members did not yet leave for their homes. St. Chrysostom describing the early practice, which had been altered in his day, says : ' All the faithful, at their meeting, when they had heard the sermon and the prayers and had received the

Worship of the Sub-Apostolic Age 50

Communion, on the congregation breaking up, did not immediately go to their homes, but the wealthy and better-to-do members, having brought food and eatables from their houses, invited the poor and made common tables, common dinners, common banquets in the church itself, and after this they went home' (Hom. xxii. 3). St Jerome, giving an account of the ancient practice, says that the common meal was made off those of the oblations which had not been used for Communion (on 1 Cor. xi.). By the end of the century this meal was, as we have seen, restored to the evening from midday.

At about six o'clock came the evening service, similar in character to the first or ante-lucan service in the morning, but shorter, consisting of psalms suitable for the evening, prayers, and an evening hymn. After the re-transference of the Agape to the evening, the meal followed immediately upon this service. About six hours of the Sunday would seem to have been given in this way to common worship. We may notice that the three services of the sub-Apostolic Church were similar in form to our own three services—Matins, the Holy Communion and Evensong. The hour at which the first two were held was earlier than our own, as we should expect in a country lying more to the East and with a climate of higher temperature than our own; and the time occupied by them was longer than ours, but not more so than might be expected from the zeal of a young and persecuted Church.

CHAPTER VIII

THE THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

THE third, fourth and fifth centuries form the remaining part of the period known as the primitive Church. The sixth, seventh and eighth centuries constitute a transitional period from the primitive to the mediæval Church, and the middle ages may be regarded as lasting from the ninth to the fifteenth century. It is not possible to trace the later centuries with the same fulness as that with which the first and second have been treated. There are too many writers for us to go page by page through each of them. The third century gives us the names of Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Cyprian, Lactantius; the fourth of Eusebius, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Hilary, Epiphanius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Ephrem Syrus, Gregory Nyssen, Ambrose; the fifth of Chrysostom, Augustine, Jerome, Vincentius Lirinensis, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, Leo I.; and this list does not contain all, but only the better-known writers.

With respect to the theology of these three centuries we may say that they present no innovation on the faith taught by the Apostles to their converts in the first century and maintained throughout the second century, found diffusively in the Acts and the Epistles and gathered

Third, Fourth and Fifth Centuries

together in the Creed so called of the Apostles. If there are any apparent additions, they are merely expansions of the old faith, made for the purpose of repelling assailants, and no more than explicit statements of truths implicitly contained and necessarily involved in the older formularies. Thus it is that the common faith of Christendom takes the form of the Nicene and again of the Athanasian Creed.

The Baptismal Creed, whatever was its exact form in one Church or another, taught everywhere that Jesus Christ was the Son of God. With that statement the Christian consciousness was satisfied ; it did not require further explication of the truth thus delivered and embraced by all. But after a time inquiries began to be made by a restless spirit of investigation as to the manner in which He was the Son of God, and the sense in which the article was to be understood. The most active and bold man in this inquiry was Arius, an Alexandrian presbyter, who believed that his bishop was on this point not sound in the faith. In opposing him, he was himself carried into a dangerous and, as it turned out, fatal extreme. For while acknowledging Jesus Christ to be superior to any other created being, he yet refused to recognise Him as partaking of the same nature with the Father. He was called His Son because He was the highest of His creatures and was like Him in all things, but yet His nature was not the same as the Father's, and there had been a time when He did not exist. The subtle arguments used by Arius and his party confused and perplexed men's minds, and the rulers of the Church

resolved to call a Council of all its bishops to settle the question finally by an appeal to Holy Scripture and by making sure what was the sense attached to the words of Scripture according to the continuous belief of the various Churches of the world. Thus met the first Ecumenical Council, the Council of Nicæa, in the year 325. The Council issued its Creed representing the understanding of Scriptural teaching entertained by Christendom in common, and to meet the cavils of the Arian party it inserted into it the words: 'Being of one substance (nature) with the Father.' But no new article was thus added to the faith. All that was done was that an authoritative, because commonly received, explication was given to the words: 'His only Son.' And to make this explication such as could not be misinterpreted, there was also added: 'Begotten by the Father before all worlds, God from God, Light from Light, Very God from Very God, Begotten not made.' But still no alteration was made in the deposit of the faith. So with regard to the other Nicene additions, 'Maker of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible' is only an expansion of 'Maker of heaven and earth'; 'Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven' is involved in the doctrine of the Incarnation; 'Whose kingdom shall have no end' is a property belonging to One who having ascended into heaven 'sitteth at the right of God.' Before and after the promulgation of the Nicene Creed the faith of Christians was the same. (1)

Time passed and a similar question arose as to the Holy Ghost to that which had arisen about Christ. All the

Third, Fourth and Fifth Centuries

early Christians knew that they believed in God the Father the Son and the Holy Ghost, and they were content without inquisitively examining further. But just as the Arian party had combated the received doctrine on the nature of the Son, so a party, headed by Macedonius, Patriarch of Constantinople, questioned the nature of the Holy Ghost and His equality with the Father and the Son, and even whether He was a Person at all. Therefore the Church gathered the Second *Œ*cumenical Council, to learn for certain what was the judgment of Christendom as to the teaching of Holy Scripture on the subject. The Council met in the year 381 and added to the Creed of Nicaea proper the concluding passages of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed.⁽²⁾ These passages followed consecutively on the clause, 'We believe in the Holy Ghost,' and were: 'The Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets'; all of which is involved in and connoted by the name of the Holy Ghost, as He is described by our Lord (John xiv., xvi.), St Peter (Acts i. 16; 2 Pet. i. 21), and St Paul (1 Cor. ii. 11).

To the article on the Church was added the word 'Apostolic,' which had already been declared to be one of the Church's characteristics (Eph. ii. 20). For 'the forgiveness of sins' there was read 'One baptism for the remission of sins,' to show the appointed means by which remission of sins was to be assured to converts, as taught in Acts ii. 38, 'Be baptized for the remission of sins'; sins *after* baptism being forgiven, in the estimation of the

Church of the fourth and fifth centuries, not through any ordinance but by repentance and prayer, as is taught by St Augustine (*Eucir. 71*; *De Symbol. ad Catech. i. 7*; *De Fide et operibus, 26*).

By the Second Council, therefore, and the Constantinopolitan Creed no change was made in the Christian Faith any more than by the First Council and the Nicene Creed. It remained what it was, as delivered by the Apostles to the first converts.

In the fifth century, controversy passed from the question of the relation which the three Persons of the Holy Trinity bore one towards another to the nature and Person of the Incarnate Son. The party of Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, could not understand the mystery of the Incarnation in any other way than by supposing that our Lord was two Persons, one divine, the other human, the human Person being born of his mother and the divine Person afterwards uniting Himself with him. This error was condemned at the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431. Soon after the party of Eutyches, running into an excess in their opposition to Nestorianism, denied that our Lord had two natures, the divine and the human, saying that as He was one Person so He had but one nature compounded of the divine and human. This error was condemned at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, the true doctrine being that our Lord has but one Personality, but two natures, the divine and the human, in His one Person. The truths thus affirmed by the Third and Fourth Councils found concise expression in the Western Creed called the Creed or Faith of St Athanasius (so called because representing

Third, Fourth and Fifth Centuries §•

in its earlier part the teaching of Athanasius by which he refuted Arius). ‘For the right faith is that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man; God of the substance (nature) of the Father, begotten before the world, and Man of the substance (nature) of His mother, born in the world; perfect God and perfect Man. . . . Who although He be God and Man, yet He is not two but one Christ. . . . One altogether, not by confusion of substance’ (in opposition to Eutyches) ‘but by unity of Person’ (in opposition to Nestorius). The statements made by the Councils and the Creed condemning the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches are no addition to the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son, but only an explication of it, or rather a declaration of truths necessarily following from it or connoted by it. And the same is to be said of the earlier part or the Creed, expressive of the doctrine which Athanasius maintained against Arius on the subject of the Trinity. There is nothing new in it. Every proposition in the Athanasian Creed is implicitly contained in the statement, ‘I believe in God the Father Almighty, and I believe in Jesus Christ His only Son, and I believe in the Holy Ghost.’

But though the primitive Church, as such, made no innovations on the Faith once delivered to the saints, yet there were individual writers who threw out opinions or thoughts which became the germs of future corruption of doctrines. Counsels of perfection were advocated. Asceticism became esteemed. Celibacy was thought highly of. Hermits and monks began to appear, and their lives were

counted meritorious. Worse still, martyrs were so highly venerated that they were addressed in panegyrics spoken over their graves, not at first with any idea of their hearing the words, but as a flower of oratory to affect the minds of the hearers—which addresses, however, when dissociated from their surroundings, made a step, unrecognised at first, towards saint-worship. Even their relics began to be considered wonder-working and objects of veneration—a thing which the writer of the account of Polycarp's martyrdom had contemptuously declared impossible for Christians. A mystical and supernatural character was attached to the elements of the Lord's Supper, though anything like an objective presence in them was undreamed of. The Agapæ, or evening meals, separated now from the sacred rite, had so degenerated that they had to be abolished by Ambrose and Augustine as incentives to drunkenness. Origen, whose theological speculations made it doubtful for many centuries whether he was a saint or a heretic, conceived the idea that all mankind, righteous and unrighteous, would on the day of Judgment itself pass through a flame of fire which would purify them just before being presented at the tribunal of God. The idea became quite common, taken up by Hilary and others. In reality this was an imagination quite incompatible with the tenet of Purgatory as it was formulated after this period, favouring rather a doctrine of universal acceptance at the last, but nevertheless it made a step towards it by means of Augustine's innocent suggestion that if there was such a fire at all it might possibly be before the last day, and by many more steps and accretions.⁽⁸⁾

Third, Fourth and Fifth Centuries *so*

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(¹) 'Thus, the Church remaining in her purity and innocent simplicity of the faith, there was no way of confuting heretics but by the words of Scripture or by appealing to the tradition of their faith in the Apostolical form (the Apostles' Creed). And there was no change made till the time of the Nicene Council . . . and the few words they added to the old form were nothing new, but a few more explicate words, of the same sense intended by the Apostles and their successors. . . . And so was the addition of Nice, concerning the divinity of the Son of God, included in the very natural filiation expressed in the Apostles' Creed ; and therefore this Nicene Creed was no more a new Creed than was that of Aquileia. . . . Neither is the addition made at Nice any other but a setting down what was plainly included in the filiation of the Son of God ; and therefore was no addition of an article, nor properly an explication, but a saying in more words what the Apostles and the Apostolical Churches did mean in all the copies and what was delivered before the convention at Nice. . . . The Nicene Fathers did add no new article of new matter, but explicated the filiation of Jesus Christ, saying in what sense He was the Son of God ; which was in proper speaking an interpretation of a word in the Apostles' Creed' (Bishop Jeremy Taylor, *Dissuasive*, II. i. 4).

(²) There is no ground for deserting the well-attested tradition of these clauses having originated at Constantinople in favour of an hypothesis lately put forward that they were added at the Council of Chalcedon and by its authority. That the members of the Council of Chalcedon should have declared that they were drawn up at Constantinople is inexplicable except upon the supposition that they were compiled and issued at Constantinople, as some of the Fathers of Chalcedon must have been alive when the Council of Constantinople was held, and all of them must have known whether or no the previous Council had issued a formulary of faith possessing *Œcumene* authority. They would certainly have better means of judging than a person living sixteen hundred years later.

(³) Hilary represents St Mary passing through the future fire of the day of Judgment (in Psalm cxviii.). Contrast with this the last development of the doctrine of Purgatory, which makes St Mary the Empress of Purgatory and St Michael her Prime Minister, and assures her votaries that when she pays her Imperial visit every Saturday she takes out of the fire all who have died wearing her scapular (a piece of woollen cloth which has already saved its wearers from hell).

CHAPTER IX

THE LORD'S DAY IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH

THE institutions and ordinances of Christians remained the same as before during these three centuries. But a great change in the observance of Sunday resulted from the conversion of Constantine. Up to that time whatever observance there was of the Lord's day was altogether spontaneous. It was the outcome of the religious feelings of the Christians alone, and instead of being encouraged by public sanction, exposed those that practised it to degrading suspicions and to persecution. The State, if it was not hostile, was at the best indifferent, and all that could be hoped of it was that it would leave its subjects to the exercise of what it regarded as a foreign superstition, while the business of the world went on as usual all round them. The first step towards an alteration in this respect was a law of Constantine that the Sunday (*dies solis*) or Lord's day (*dies Dominica*) should be put on the same footing as the old heathen festivals in respect to legal proceedings, that is, that no actions at law should be permitted on it except those which necessity or charity demanded, such as the emancipation and manumission of slaves, which could not be deferred without a breach of the law of charity (*Cod. Theod.* ii., viii., i. ; *Cod. Justin.* iii.,

Lord's Day in the Primitive Church

xii., ii.), or any cause that the necessities of the State demanded should be at once prosecuted. Constantine also ordered that the Lord's day should be a day of rest to the army, the Christian soldiers going to church and the heathen offering prayers to God in the open fields (*Euseb. Vita Constant. iv. 18-20*). Another law forbade the exercise of all secular trades in cities on Sunday, though it still allowed agriculturists to sow corn or plant vines on it. Further legislation took place on the lines begun by Constantine. Valentinian the Elder forbade Christians to be arrested on Sunday for not paying their taxes. Valentinian the Younger went further: 'On Sunday,' he says, 'which our predecessors have rightly called the Lord's day, there is to be no prosecution of law causes; no one is to demand payment of a debt, public or private; no trials are to take place before arbiters whether legally appointed or voluntarily chosen; and whoever departs from this rule and institution of our holy religion is to be regarded not only as a malefactor but as sacrilegious' (*Cod. Theod. viii., viii., iii.*). The laws on doing agricultural work on Sunday became more strict (*Cod. Just. Leo Novell. liv.*, quoted in Hooker's *Eccles. Polity v., lxxi. 9*) and the decrees of Councils still more so; a series of prohibitory decrees may be found one after the other down to the time of Charlemagne. A new duty to be performed on the Lord's day was imposed on the Judges by Honorius, which was to visit the prisons and see that the prisoners were humanely treated (*Cod. Theod. ix., iii., vii.*). The sanctity of the day was further guarded by the prohibition of games, theatres, horse-racing and wild beast shows on it by the Emperor Theodosius, who lays

down the principle that there is one time for prayer and another for pleasure (*Cod. Theod.* xv., v., ii.). Leo and Anthemius denounced the penalty of loss of goods on any man who went to the spectacles on that day, and any military man that did so was cashiered (*Cod. Just.* iii., xii., xi.). In the Codex Canonum of the African Church, can. lxi., there is a petition to Honorius that the theatres might be closed on the Lord's day and on the other great Christian festivals. The fourth Council of Carthage excommunicated any who attended the public shows on the Lord's day.

From the above review we may see that the Lord's day was observed by the primitive Church with great devotion. In the period before Constantine, the Church had nothing but herself to rely upon to enforce its obligation, and no force outside herself was required, so great was the zeal of her children. They had not to be exhorted, much less compelled, to join the Church services, long as they were, and though they had often to be held at an hour which demanded great self-sacrifice on the part of those that attended them. Bingham, in his 'Antiquities of the Christian Church,' notes 'the great care and concern of the primitive Christians for the religious observation of the Lord's day, of which they have left us several demonstrations ; first, in that they paid a ready and constant attendance upon all the offices and solemnities of public Divine worship. They did not only rest from bodily labour and secular business, but spent the day in such employments as were proper to set forth the glory of the Lord, to whose honour the day was devoted ; that is, in holding religious

Lord's Day in the Primitive Church

assemblies for the celebration of the several parts of Divine service, psalmody, reading of the Scriptures, preaching, praying, and receiving the Communion, all which were the constant service of this day ; and such was the flaming zeal of those pious votaries that nothing but sickness, or a great necessity, or imprisonment, or banishment, could detain them from it ; and then also care was taken that the chief part of it, the Communion, was administered to them by the hands of the deacons, who carried it to those that were sick and in prison, that, as far as was possible, they might communicate still with the public congregation' (xx., ii. 7). When zeal began to wax cold, a canon was passed by the Council of Elvira, A.D. 300, to the effect that if anyone in a town did not go to church for three Lord's days together, he was to be suspended from the Communion for the same length of time (can. xxviii.); and the Council of Sardica, A.D. 347, reminded men of the rule 'that a layman should be excommunicated if, living in a town, he absented himself from church for three Lord's days consecutively' (can. xi.). When we get as late as St Chrysostom we find the excuse, 'I can pray at home,' put forward, which that Father by no means admits. 'Man !' he cries, 'you are deceiving yourself, for indeed it is not possible to pray there in the same way as at church, where so many fathers are assembled, and the cry goes up to God with one heart. You are not heard when you are addressing your Lord by yourself so well as with your brethren. For there is something more—one heart and one voice and the bond of love and the prayers of the priests' (Hom. iii., *de Incompar. Dei Natura*, tom. i. 469). And again : ' You can pray, but

prayer has not so much power when it is only from the members of a household as when the whole body of the Church with one mind offers its supplications with one voice, the priests being present and offering the prayers of the whole congregation' (Hom. ii., *de obscur. prophet.* tom. vi. 187).

The fact that the Imperial laws, as soon as the Imperial power became Christian, immediately concerned themselves with the sanctification of the Lord's day, is sufficient in itself to show what must have been the Christian sentiment on the subject, and we may notice that the civil power did not go out of its own sphere. It did not compel men to observe the day properly, but it put an end to certain things which were profanations of it, and which tempted men from their religious duties on the day. And it is a notable fact that both the civil law and the decrees of Councils became stricter rather than laxer on the point, as time passed and Christianity more and more interpenetrated society, down to the time of Charlemagne, with whose reign we count the Middle Ages to have begun.

The services of the day were, as before, the ante-lucan service, the forenoon service, including the administration of the Holy Communion and the Evensong service, the last of which was followed, until its abolition, by the common meal called Agape.

CHAPTER X

THE HIERARCHY IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH

ADDITIONS were made during this period to the hierarchy of the Church. At the beginning of the third century it was found convenient to group a certain number of bishops under one with an honorary precedence who was called Metropolitan. Sometimes the office of Metropolitan passed to the senior bishop of a district, as was the case in Africa, but generally it was held by the bishop of the civil metropolis, the Church always following the arrangements of the civil power wherever she could. The duties of the office of Metropolitans were—(1) to regulate the election and to officiate at the ordination of the bishops of their district; (2) to hold, and preside at, the synods of the bishops of the province; (3) to visit throughout the provinces, and to correct abuses; (4) to receive appeals from the bishops, and examine them at the provincial synod; (5) to take charge of sees during vacancies; (6) to give letters of commendation to the suffragan-bishops when travelling; (7) to see that Easter was kept at the right time.

Towards the end of the third century the hierarchy was still further organised by the institution of Patriarchs, whose authority extended over Metropolitans just as the

Metropolitans' authority extended over diocesan bishops. They had—(1) to ordain Metropolitans ; (2) to receive appeals from them ; (3) to summon and preside at patriarchal or national synods. The patriarchal system began in different places at different times, but it reached its regular and full form in the fourth century in the time of Constantine. Constantine divided the whole world, of which he was the master, into fourteen civil districts to which were given the name of 'Dioceses.' Each of these Dioceses (a civil division of the Empire, not to be confounded with an ecclesiastical 'Diocese') was ruled by a *Præfect*. The Church, always ready to form itself externally upon the model of the civil government, recognised each of these Dioceses as the sphere of a Patriarch or Exarch or Primate (which three titles were at this time equivalent), and thus the Church Catholic was made up of fourteen patriarchal or Diocesan Churches, which differed in no essential respect from what we now call National Churches. These fourteen Churches, of which the Church Catholic consisted, were the following :—(1) the Roman Church, comprising the southern half of Italy, and presided over by the Pope or Bishop of Rome ; (2) the Italian Church, consisting of the northern half of Italy, and presided over by the Exarch of Milan ; (3) the African Church, under the Primate of Carthage ; (4) the Egyptian Church, under the Patriarch of Alexandria ; (5) the 'Asiatic' Church, under the Exarch of Ephesus ; (6) the 'Oriental' Church, under the Patriarch of Antioch ; (7) the Pontic Church, under the Exarch of Cæsarea ; (8) the Thracian Church, under the Patriarch of Constantinople ; (9) the Dacian Church, under the Exarch (apparently) of

Hierarchy in the Primitive Church

Sardica ; (10) the Macedonian Church, under the Exarch of Thessalonica ; (11) the Illyrian Church, under the Exarch of Sirmium ; (12) the Gallic Church, under seventeen Metropolitans but without an Exarch ; (13) Britain, under apparently five Metropolitans with no Exarch over them ; (14) Spain, under five Metropolitans but with no Exarch. Each of these Churches was self-governed, and did not recognise in any prelate outside its own borders any spiritual authority or right of oversight. There was no external bond of government to hold the fourteen Churches together. They were wholes, independent of one another, but combined together into one greater whole by having one invisible Head and one animating Spirit, by maintaining the same faith, exercising the same discipline, and having as their chief officers bishops, each one of whom had a potential jurisdiction throughout the whole of Christendom, though the exertion of that power was, as a matter of order, limited under normal circumstances to a special see or province or diocese. The only authority which the Diocesan (or National) Churches recognised as capable of controlling their separate action was that of an Ecumenical Council composed of delegates from each and summoned by Imperial order. These Councils passed canon after canon forbidding the interference of the bishop of any one diocese, that is, district or country, with the bishop of any other diocese. 'Bishops outside a diocese are not to invade the Churches across the borders nor bring confusion into the Churches,' says the second canon of the Council of Constantinople, 'lest,' says the eighth canon of the Council of Ephesus, 'the pride of worldly power be introduced under cover of

the priestly function, and by little and little we be deprived of the liberty which our Lord Jesus Christ, the deliverer of all men, has given us by His own blood.'

So far the constitution of the Church is clear enough. It consisted theoretically of fourteen independent federal, Dioecesan (National) Churches. But now there came in two cross principles; the first was that the Primate of that Dioecesan Church which contained the greatest cities should borrow dignity from the greatness of those cities; the second that respect should be paid to those Churches which were founded by Apostles. In accordance with the second of these principles an undefined reverence gathered round the names of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Rome, and the prelates who presided over them. This principle, however, had not at this time nearly so much weight and influence as the other. The Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon give as the reason for the prerogatives assigned to Rome and Constantinople the presence of the Imperial power in those cities. (¹) Even had they not expressly declared it we might have gathered that it must have been so, for otherwise the Apostolic sees of Antioch and Jerusalem and Alexandria would never have allowed the unapostolic see of Constantinople to be preferred before themselves without making complaint; and indeed on any other principle than this the order would have been Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, Alexandria, rather than Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem.

By virtue of the first of these cross principles, which gave an undefined honour to apostolically-founded sees, the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem were

Hierarchy in the Primitive Church

endued with a dignity which other Primates had not; by virtue of the second the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople were raised above their brother Primates; so much so that the Council of Chalcedon, which, recognising a prominence of honour in Rome because it was the elder Imperial city, gave to the Patriarch of Constantinople, on the ground that it was the younger Imperial city, the second position of honour and also an authority over three Diœcesan (National) Churches, and allowed appeals to be made to him from all parts of the Church as much as to the appellant's own Patriarch. These were two points in which encroachments were made on the ancient constitution of the Church in favour of Constantinople; but it was done legitimately at an œcuménical Council. Rome had no such authority to back her claim. All that she could and did appeal to was a canon (in itself inadequate) of the provincial Council of Sardica (the decrees of which the Popes attempted to pass off as those of Nicæa) and the laws of the Western Emperors.

We do not find any authority vested in the Bishops of Rome outside their own diocese before the law of Gratian and Valentinian in the year 378 which enacted that all Metropolitans and all bishops who chose, in the Western Empire, were to be tried before the Bishop of the Imperial city, in case of any charge being made against them.⁽²⁾ This decree of Gratian gave by Imperial authority to the Patriarch of Rome a similar position to that which was given to the Patriarch of Constantinople by ecclesiastical authority at the Council of Chalcedon, which extended the jurisdiction of the latter prelate over the Churches of Pontus and the

East. Up to the time of Gratian's law all suits had to be settled within the Church of the nation where they had arisen. The encroachment made by that law was the more easily effected because there were no Exarchs of the Churches of Gaul, Britain and Spain, as there were of the other eleven Churches, but only Metropolitans without a Primate of their own, whose duty it would have been to maintain their rights. From this time forward the idea of the authority of the Patriarch of Rome being extended throughout *the provinces of the Western Empire* was no longer alien to the subjects of the Western Emperor. Half a century later Leo I. not only claimed but exerted an authority unknown to any Bishops of Rome until the law of Gratian had invested them with a coercive power not before possessed. That coercive power was still further enlarged, on Leo's entreaty, by Valentinian III., A.D. 445, and it was then exercised by Leo, not as though it had been derived from the Emperor, but on the novel plea that he, as Bishop of Rome, had succeeded to the privileges of St Peter who was chief of the Apostles. A struggle for superiority had to ensue between the bishops of the two Imperial cities, and it came two centuries later at the end of the sixth century, when the title of Universal Bishop, which had been used by the Patriarch of Constantinople, was, as we shall see, conferred, still by Imperial not ecclesiastical decree, upon the Bishop of Rome.

The inferior orders of the ministry also originated in the present period. Sub-deacons, first mentioned by Cyprian, were introduced in the third century to give assistance to deacons where such assistance was needed. It was not

Hierarchy in the Primitive Church

till the twelfth century that the Church of Rome declared them to be one of the superior orders, in order to be enabled to pronounce bishops and priests to be one and the same order (its policy being to deprecate the Episcopate) and yet to preserve the number of three orders of the superior ministry. Acolytes or attendants on those ministering date also from the third century in the Latin Church; exorcists who prayed for men's deliverance from Satan, readers, who publicly read the Scriptures in church, and ostiarii or doorkeepers were a little later. Singers, copiatae or gravediggers, parabolani or district visitors, and economi or bursars belong to the fourth, arch-deacons to the third century.

NOTES

(¹) 'We following in all things the decision of the holy Fathers and acknowledging the canon of the 150 most religious Bishops which has been just read (*i.e.*, the third canon of the Council of Constantinople) do also determine and decree the same thing respecting the prerogatives of the most holy city of Constantinople, New Rome. For the Fathers properly have granted its prerogatives to the throne of the Elder Rome, *because that was the Imperial city*. And the 150 most religious Bishops, being moved with the same intention, gave equal prerogatives to the most holy throne of New Rome, judging with reason that the city which was honoured with the sovereignty and the senate, and which enjoyed equal prerogatives with the Elder Royal Rome, should also be magnified like her in ecclesiastical matter, being the second city after her.'—Canon xxviii. of the Council of Chalcedon.

(²) The rise of the see of Toledo, which became the second richest see in Christendom, is similar to that of Rome. When the Gothic Kings of Spain had become Catholic and transferred the royal residence to Toledo they could not endure that the bishop of *their* see should not therefore be superior to other bishops. Accordingly, King Gundemar and his successors raised Toledo first to Metropolitan and then to Primate rank. 'Henceforth,' said King Gundemar's edict, 'we shall not pardon the offence if any of the priests of Carthaginensis disregard

the honour of this Church. Whoever is disobedient shall certainly undergo the sentence of degradation and excommunication as well as the infliction of severe punishment by Us' (Labbe et Cossart v. 16). The King and the Church of Spain stood in the same relation to each other as the Emperor and the Church of the Empire. In each case the presence of the highest representative of the civil power was considered a reason for adding dignity to the Bishop of the city in which he resided, and giving him authority over the other bishops of the realm.

CHAPTER XI

THREE TRANSITIONAL CENTURIES

IT seems almost as necessary that religion should sink gradually into superstition with the passage of time as that a stream which leaps sparkling from its mountain spring should become besouled after traversing the haunts of men and crowded cities. One man adds a little here, another there ; something is omitted here, something else there ; some strange interpretation is introduced here or there, which changes the character and meaning of a precept or an act or a rite. Unconsciously the original faith passes into something quite different, and a long time afterwards men wake up and say with astonishment and indignation, *This is not the old faith ! How did it come to be what it is now ?* And then comes the question of dogged maintenance of what is, without respect to what was, or reformation.

The Church increasingly suffered from this tendency of the faith to become corrupted as it passes from generation to generation ; and the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries were a period of swift declension, though the slough lying at the bottom of the descent was not yet reached.

There was a special cause for the rapidity with which false doctrines germinated and grew at this time. The

irruption of the barbarians and the overthrow of the Œcuménical power of the Roman Empire changed the face of the world and had an untold effect on the Church. The civil and military officers of the Roman Empire fell back before rude tribes of barbarians bursting down from the north. The Church did its best to meet the crisis. It swept all the untaught soldiers that it could into its net, contented if they would embrace Christianity and accept the guidance of Christian priests, hoping to be able to instruct them more perfectly as time went on. A break was thus made in the traditional understanding of Scriptural words and Church ordinances which was never restored in the West. I will illustrate in two points—a doctrine and a practice. Down to this time it had been well known that the text 'This is my body' was to be understood spiritually. But the barbarians found the Church to which they had submitted celebrating with great pomp, a pomp once unknown, a service, not now making part of a social meal in which the Last Supper of the Founder had been commemorated and re-enacted, but standing by itself and apart from its old surroundings, in which the priest appeared to declare that the bread which he held in his hand and the wine which he poured forth were the body and blood of the Lord. The new converts, simple, rude soldiers of the peasant class, not acquainted with Hebrew parable and poetry but familiar with the magical rites of their own superstitions, accepted the words in their baldest signification. Their teachers knew that they were materialising the traditional faith in respect to the Sacrament, but they had to leave the rude

Three Transitional Centuries

conception uncorrected for the present, considering that the immediate work to be done was to secure a profession of Christianity, and that if they did that, all would come right in the end. Thus the materialistic view of the bread and wine becoming the body and blood of Christ took its place in the Church, and when once it was rooted in the apprehensions of the vulgar, the more enlightened members of the body were not able, as they had expected, to eradicate it. By the end of the present period, instead of having passed away, it succeeded in making its way into the class above the common people, and it appeared for the first time in a treatise written by a monk of Corbey about the year 830. We shall have to continue in a subsequent chapter the history of this movement from below.

Similarly, down to this time it had been known that the text, 'Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained,' meant that Christ's ministers were authorised by the Master to admit men into the kingdom of grace and forgiveness through baptism, or to keep them out of it by refusing them baptism, and to cast them out from it by excommunication, and to re-admit them on their proving themselves worthy. The unlettered converts accepted the Scriptural words in a gross sense, and an awe grew up around the clergy as men capable of pardoning their sins. The clergy, for their part, having enough to do to keep a hold on them in any way, were content to allow them to remain in a misunderstanding which would at least confirm them in subjection to themselves, who were the representatives, says Milman, 'not only of religion but of civilisation.' 'The ecclesiastics

would have been almost more than men, certainly far beyond their time, to have resisted the temptation of what would seem innocent or beneficent fraud, to overcome or to control the ignorant barbarian' (*Latin Christianity*, iii. 2, p. 292). Thus by the irruption of the barbarians and the consequent break in the traditions of civilisation and Christianity a way was made for the dogma of Transubstantiation and the practice of the Confessional, both of which were sanctioned together at a much later date, in 1215.

A previous step towards the Confessional had been made at the end of the fifth century by Pope Leo I. In the fourth and fifth centuries the rule was that if a man was guilty of apostasy, witchcraft, adultery, fornication, murder, homicide, robbery, robbery of graves, or sacrilege, he was required to acknowledge his fault publicly in the presence of the congregation before he could be re-admitted to the Lord's Table. This public acknowledgment was demanded in order that the congregation might be assured of the transgressor's penitence and that they might help him with their prayers. Leo I. (A.D 440-461), writing to the bishops of Campania, directed that this discipline should be so far altered that the confession should be made to the clergy instead of to the congregation, on the ground that the prayers of the clergy would be sufficient without those of the congregation. This was the first step towards private confession to a priest, which had hitherto been unknown in the Church except with a view to subsequent public confession (in the above-named cases) to the congregation. It was however but a short step as yet, for Leo still regarded

Three Transitional Centuries 50

the office of the priest to be that of prayer to God for the sinner's pardon, not forgiveness of his sin in the place of God. As sacerdotalism grew, the priest, from being the representative of the congregation, slid into the position of being the representative of God, till at length he gave God's pardon instead of praying for it.

A step was also taken towards the doctrine of Purgatory at the end of the sixth century. We have seen that Origen, Hilary and others had already thrown out the idea that on the Day of Judgment all mankind would have to pass through a purifying fire before appearing before God, and Augustine had conjectured that if there were such a purifying fire it might possibly be sooner than the last day, but said that he could not tell (*De Civ. Dei*, xxi. 20). Pope Gregory I. (A.D. 590-604), if the Dialogues attributed to him are genuine, declared that we ought to believe in a purifying fire after death which might serve as an expiation of light faults, such as immoderate laughter or idle talking, which St Augustine had taught were done away by daily prayer. This is far from being the later doctrine of Purgatory, even before the tenet of Indulgences was added to it. Yet it led the way to that doctrine.

Papal authority grew throughout these three centuries. In the course of the third century three religious novels of an heretical character had been issued under the names of the Homilies, the Recognitions and the Epitome, and had been attributed to Bishop Clement of Rome. They were intended for a covert attack on St Paul, who was represented as Simon Magus subdued by Peter. James of Jerusalem was depicted by them as the Archbishop of the

whole Church, but next to him in authority and practically first in power was Peter. The tales were passed by with disregard as an Ebionite dream, but they started an idea as to Peter's position in the Apostolic Church which in the fifth century was grasped at by the Bishops of Rome, who were not satisfied with tracing their prominence to the laws of Gratian and Valentinian giving them authority over the other bishops of the Empire, or to the fact of Rome being the seat of empire (which the Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon both state to have been the cause) or even to the canon of the provincial Council of Sardica. When we reach Leo I. (A.D. 440-461) we find the plea put forward that Peter was the superior of the other Apostles and that the Bishops of Rome had succeeded to that superiority. This claim, suggested by the heretical Clementine novels but first formulated seriously by Leo I. and never since his days abandoned, was made with greater and greater boldness as time proceeded, and the three centuries that we are now considering were especially favourable to its growth. For when the Western Empire or rather the Western branch of the Roman Empire was extinguished in 476, the Roman bishops obtained an independent authority in Italy which the Arian Ostrogothic kings, who like their Visigothic cousins in Spain were of a tolerant temperament, did not think of controlling, while the Byzantine emperors were too far off to be able to do so, except when a specially strong man like Justinian held the reins of power. 'Under these favourable circumstances,' says Gieseler, 'the ecclesiastical pretensions of the Roman bishops, who now formed the only centre of Catholic

Three Transitional Centuries §•

Christendom in the West, in opposition to the Arian conquerors, rose high without hindrance. They asserted that not only did the highest ecclesiastical authority in the West belong to them, but also superintendence of orthodoxy and maintenance of ecclesiastical laws throughout the whole Church' (*Eccles. Hist.* ii. 123.) In 511 was first heard the assertion, made by a Bishop Ennodius, that the Bishop of Rome, now first distinctively called Pope, was subject to no earthly judges (*Mansi*, viii. 274). To confirm so useful a privilege and give it an historical basis, the acts of earlier supposititious Councils were forged, containing the same assertion, and assigned to the fourth and fifth centuries. As yet, however, the Bishops of Rome acknowledge themselves subject to General Councils and only demanded the right of interference outside their own Diœcesan Church when the maintenance of the faith required it. In this demand they claimed as an exclusive possession of their own the right which resided in every member of the equal college of bishops.

CHAPTER XII

SECOND AND THIRD COUNCILS OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND SECOND OF NICÆA

HITHERTO I have spoken of the words and acts of individuals in the three centuries now under consideration. The Church, as a body, held two General Councils during the period—the Fifth and the Sixth œcuménical Councils, summoned by Justinian, A.D. 553, and by Constantine Pogonatus, A.D. 680, to meet at Constantinople. These two Councils attempted no change in, or addition to, the faith as contained in the Creeds and in the definitions of the first four Councils. But the second of them pronounced a condemnation of Monothelitism, as a corollary of the condemnation of Monophysitism declared at Chalcedon. It was fairly argued that if our Lord had two Natures, the divine and the human, He must also have had two Wills, the divine and the human, the Will being an essential part of each Nature. ⁽¹⁾ These two Councils are of special value as exhibiting the relation still understood to exist between the Popes of Rome and General Councils. At the Fifth œcuménical Council (Second of Constantinople) Pope Vigilius was not present personally or by legates (although he was in Constantinople at the time that it was sitting) and he was by implication condemned by it for heresy. In the

Second and Third Councils of Constantinople

Sixth Ecumenical Council (Third of Constantinople) Pope Honorius was by name anathematised for heresy, and that he was a heretic was acknowledged by his successor Leo II., who anathematised him for trying to subvert the faith by a profane betrayal of it (Routh, *Opuscula*, ii. 153). Leo's condemnation of his predecessor must have been either just or unjust. If it was just, Honorius was a heretic and therefore not infallible; if it was unjust, Leo pronounced a false judgment *ex cathedra* on a point of doctrine and therefore he was not infallible. It is impossible that both these Popes could have been infallible.

Two other Councils were held which were intended to be Ecumenical but were not. The first of these was held at Constantinople in 754, which condemned, the other at Nicæa in 787, which commanded, the worship of images. We must pause over these two Councils, as they illustrate the growth of image worship and show how not individuals only but large sections of the Church sank at this time into a condonation of idolatry—which shows how near we are to the period of Mediævalism.

At the beginning of the eighth century the spiritual character of worship had become degraded into a material and sensuous adoration of visible forms. Doubtless there were some then, as there ever have been, who were capable of distinguishing between the symbol and the thing symbolised: but such persons were, as they ever have been, few, and the mass of the Byzantine Christians rendered worship to the painted images themselves, not only to the prototypes which the icons were supposed to represent. In 717 Leo the Isaurian was lifted to the throne of Constanti-

nople. A brave and enterprising soldier, educated far from the subtleties of Byzantine theology and philosophy, he seems to have entertained towards the worship of images a feeling of scorn and detestation not unnatural to one whose mind had perhaps been raised into the region of spiritual religion by a youthful familiarity with the mountains and fastnesses of his native province. Seated on the throne, he determined to cleanse the Church, of which he was considered the guardian, of a superstition which in his eyes debased Christianity and laid it open to the sneers and taunts of Jews and Mohammedans. He began with mild measures, but soon passions were excited on both sides, and throughout his reign and that of his son Constantine Copronymus, the Eastern Empire was rent into two hostile factions, one charging its opponents with atheism, the other with superstition. In the year 754 Constantine Copronymus summoned a General Council which met at Constantinople, consisting of 338 bishops. In the Council, which adopted the title of the Great Seventh General Council, icon worship was sternly prohibited as inconsistent with the spirituality of the worship of Christ. Constantine died and left the throne to his feebler son, Leo IV., who again left it, after a short reign of five years, to an infant Constantine VI., who was placed under the guardianship of his mother Irene. Irene, an Athenian princess, had been addicted to image worship during her husband's lifetime, and she now resolved to make use of her exalted position for the purpose of recalling monks banished for idolatry, and replacing images. Her first step was to appoint her secretary, Tarasius, though still a layman, to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and

Second and Third Councils of Constantinople

with his co-operation, she convoked a Council, which was first assembled at Constantinople and shortly transferred to Nicea, where it was opened in the autumn of the year 787, and called, like the Council in the reign of Copronymus, the Seventh General Council. At this Council the iconoclasts or overthowers of images were condemned, as the worshippers of images had been condemned in the previous Council, the worship of images was declared a lawful and pious practice, and an image or icon of the Saviour being introduced into the assembly, those present fell down before it and adored it.

Pope Hadrian readily confirmed the Acts of the Second Council of Nicæa. The Popes had throughout the controversy been the strong advocates of image worship and violent opponents of the iconoclastic emperors. They had reason to be so; partly because the practice of image worship had spread through Italy subsequently to the time of Gregory I., partly and chiefly because they found that they could use the popular superstition in favour of images as a lever with which to wrest their independence, which soon became a monarchy, from the feeble hands of their distant Imperial lord. Gregory II. and Gregory III. had assailed the Emperor Leo with an insolent vituperation exhibiting a grossness of ignorance which makes us hesitate to acknowledge their letters as genuine. We can hardly imagine the bishop of such a city as Rome so ignorant as to describe the act of Hezekiah in destroying the brazen serpent as the act of a wicked king, whom he calls Uzziah, setting himself up to offer violence to the priests of God. We can scarcely believe that he would declare that pictures

of Christ, of James, the Lord's brother, of Stephen and of all the martyrs had been disseminated throughout the world to receive adoration. The violence of language used towards the Emperor is more explicable, since a half-revolted subject who is resolved on shaking off the yoke of a superior (which was the position of the Popes at this time) does not measure the words with which he assails and provokes his lately feared master. Hadrian, following in the footsteps of the two Gregories, gave his consent to the decrees of the Second Council of Nicæa—but Hadrian spoke for Italy, not for Europe. There was a nobler, freer, more untrammelled spirit abroad in Germany, France, England, and at that time in Spain too. Three years after the Council had been held a remarkable book was issued in the name of Charles the Great. From Charlemagne's name it is called the Caroline books, and though it has been attributed by some to our English Alcuin, it is probable that to a great extent it emanated from the Emperor himself, who was the author of it in the same sense that King James I. was author of books and pamphlets which he wrote with the assistance of Bishop Andrewes and Casaubon. The Caroline books speak more in the tone of the Protestant controversialists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than of the age to which they belong. Charles argues with power, skill, and sometimes with bitterness which descends to vituperation, against all adoration of images. He forbids worship, reverence, veneration, and orders that none shall kneel before an image, nor burn lights to it, nor burn incense to it, nor kiss it. Pictures may be used as historical monuments and nothing more. The Emperor

Second and Third Councils of Constantinople

was not satisfied with his written protest. In 794, that is, seven years after the Second Council of Nicaea, the Council of Frankfort was held, and in this Council the decrees of the Nicene Council were formally condemned, and the assembled Fathers declared their 'rejection and contempt of adoration and servitude being paid in any form to images, and they unanimously condemned the same.' Legates of Pope Hadrian were present at the Council of Frankfort, and a copy of the Caroline books was despatched to Rome. An unwelcome present. But the Pope stood in a very different position to the young Empire of Charlemagne from that which he held towards the decrepit Byzantine Empire. Hadrian dissembled his anger and returned a feeble reply to the arguments of the Caroline books.

The Second Council of Nicæa thus proved to be not an undisputed Council. Its decrees were rejected as soon as heard of by the most vigorous nations of the West under Charlemagne, and again under his son Louis the Pious; and even in the East the existing prevalence of icon worship does not rest so much on the authority of the Second Council of Nicæa, after which images were again abolished and again restored, according to the caprice of one or another emperor, as on the influence of the Empress Theodora, widow of the iconoclast Theophilus, who finally won the battle for the icons in the year 842, more than fifty years after the Second Council of Nicæa. It was in her reign that the festival commemorating the restoration of icons was held which is still religiously observed by the Oriental Church. Seldom have more conspicuous examples of the part played by women in corrupting the

theology of the Church been seen than in the savage Irene, who murdered her son in the porphyry chamber in which she had borne him, and the feeble-minded Theodora. To Irene and Theodora we owe it that the worship of icons is part of the recognised religious system of the vast Russian Empire and of the Russo-Greek Church.

The teaching of the Second Council of Nicæa on the worship of icons amounts to this: That to honour them is not sufficient, that to venerate, worship, and adore them is a duty binding on pain of anathema, but that Latria, the supreme worship due only to Almighty God, may not be paid to them. The Eastern Church therefore did not at this time sink, and has not sunk, into idolatry to the same degree as the Western Church of the Middle Ages, which by the mouth of Aquinas declared that the images of Christ and the Cross were to be worshipped 'with the same supreme worship, Latria, with which Christ Himself is adored.' Still, when we read of the praise bestowed by Gregory I. at the end of the sixth century upon Serenus for 'preventing anything made with hands being worshipped,' and the zeal of Bishop Epiphanius in the middle of the fourth century in tearing down a curtain at the door of a church, because it had upon it the picture of Christ or a saint; and when we contrast the decree of the Council of Elvira at the beginning of the fourth century, ordering 'that no images be admitted into churches, lest the object of religious worship come to be painted on the walls,' we see how far the Second Council of Nicæa had declined from earlier purity and orthodoxy. Still more when we place the decree of Nicæa side by side with the Second

Second and Third Councils of Constantinople 50

Commandment, do we see the difference between the spiritual religion which God demands of us, and the materialism into which man debased it. The principle of the Second Commandment is that we should lift up our spiritual selves to the Spiritual Being who created us, without demanding the aid of external form or localised symbol, in order that our souls may hold communion with Him. This spiritual conception of worship, cherished in the heart of hearts of the Jewish people from the time of the Captivity onwards, passed in still purer form to the early Christians. For four centuries neither images nor any other visible objects of religious worship were admitted into churches, nor allowed in the exercise of devotion. For two centuries more, not a single word in favour of their veneration can be found in any writer great or small. Six hundred years passed away and no thought of icon worship had presented itself to the Christian consciousness. A dark time then fell on the Church. The horror of idols, inspired by heathen polytheism, passed away, and at the same time an unhappy materialisation of religion took place. Not only were symbols more and more craved after by a feeble faith, but the distinction between the symbol and the thing symbolised, the sign and the thing signified, was obliterated by a gross materialising tendency, till the image was required as a stepping-stone to reach the original, and then the image and the original were so identified together that the worship due to the original alone was expended on the outward symbol. The iconoclasts woke suddenly at the beginning of the eighth century to the conviction that the Christian religion was debased and must be purified.

Their opponents, believing them to be inspired by the prejudices of Jews and Mohammedans, hugged their icons closer to them, and insisted on regarding them as part and parcel of the religion of Christ instead of a corruption of it, throwing themselves with vehemence and ardour into the defence of that which, for the sake of the rest, they should have thrown away. The result of this error, committed so many centuries ago, is that the practice of icon worship is spread throughout a great part of Europe and Asia, and a barrier is raised up between one part of Christ's Church and another which appears insurmountable.

NOTE

(¹) In the same way it follows from our Lord's two Natures that He had two knowledges, the divine and the human. Nor could He have divested Himself of one of His knowledges any more than of one of His wills, knowledge being an essential part of the Divine Nature, and impossible to be laid aside by the human Nature after having been once acquired, except by a mutilation which should leave the Nature imperfect. Having both knowledges, He could not be deceived. If it were possible to hold a General Council at the present day, a decision to this effect might be expected from it, to meet errors lately put forth and maintained.

P A R T I I

CHAPTER I

THE FAITH OF THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

THE dominating feature and factor in the Middle Ages is the Papal Supremacy, not only because it was a supremacy forming practically a new order of the ministry in the West, but also because its function was to approve by its authority every corruption of the primitive faith and worship as soon as it had become thoroughly popular; and so to change that faith and worship by the corporate action of the Latin Church in a way that it could not have been changed by the speculations of individuals. We have seen that the Emperors Gratian and Valentinian had invested the Bishops of Rome in the fifth century with a certain power over all the bishops of the Empire, in order that through them the Emperor might the more readily govern the distant prelates, and the Councils of Constantinople and Chalcedon recognised a primacy of honour in the see, on the ground of its possessing within it the Imperial throne and the senate; and further, that Leo I. had tried to improve the position thus granted by appealing to a supposed special privilege conferred on St Peter, and retained by his supposed successors. But all this would have gone for nothing; when the Western Emperor fell, the power bestowed by him would have gradually fallen like-

wise, and the other patriarchs and the Metropolitans, while courteously bowing to the Roman Prelate, would have held their own had not a literary fraud taken place in the ninth century which changed the face of Christendom. This was the forgery of the 'Decretals of Isidore.' The forgery was made towards the middle of the century, between the years 829 and 845. It would seem that Riculfus, Archbishop of Maintz, obtained from Spain a collection of letters and decrees about the year 800, which he laid by in a bureau in which ecclesiastical documents of the Church of Maintz were kept. Here they were found by his successor, Archbishop Autcarius, who came to the see in 826 and held it till 847. Already the principle of interpolating, mutilating and forging ancient documents of authority, which was so largely acted upon in the Middle and later ages, prevailed. Autcarius saw his opportunity of introducing into the law and custom of the Latin Church regulations and principles which he honestly thought would be good for the Church. It seems to have been he that committed the forgeries and attributed the whole collection, forgeries and all, to Isidore of Seville, the only learned Spanish prelate, almost the only learned man of the sixth century.⁽¹⁾ The most important part of the collection was a series of Decretal Letters, that is, letters with canonical authority purporting to be written by the early Popes, and exhibiting them as from the beginning the monarchs of the Church. The extent to which these Letters were forged may be seen by the following Table taken from Labbe and Cossart's History of the Councils, which, however, does not indicate more than half of the forgeries, compositions and interpolations.

A Table of the Early Popes, and the Letters ascribed to Them.

No.	Name of the Pope.	A.D.	Letters ascribed to each.	Whether forged or genuine.	Col. Labbe & Cossart.
1	Clement I.	91	{ 2 to Cor. 5 to St Jas. and others }	Genuine Forged	123 82
2	Anacletus	101	3 Epistles	Forged	512
3	Evaristus	110	2 Epistles	Forged	533
4	Alexander I.	119	3 Epistles	Forged	542
5	Sixtus I.	130	2 Epistles	Forged	554
6	Telesphorus	140	1 Epistle	Forged	559
7	Hyginus	152	2 Epistles	Forged	566
8	Pius I.	156	4 Epistles	Forged	579
9	Anicetus	165	1 Epistle	Forged	580
10	Soter	173	2 Epistles	Forged	584
11	Eleutherus	177	1 Epistle	Forged	588
12	Victor I.	192	4 Epistles	Forged	592
13	Zephyrinus	201	2 Epistles	Forged	603
14	Callistus I.	219	2 Epistles	Forged	609
15	Urban I.	224	1 Epistle	Forged	618
16	Pontianus	231	2 Epistles	Forged	623
17	Anterus	235	1 Epistle	Forged	629
18	Fabian	236	3 Epistles	Forged	640
19	Cornelius	251	6 Epistles	3 Forged, 3 } Genuine	668
20	Lucius	253	1 Epistle	Forged	721
21	Stephen I.	255	2 Epistles	Forged	729
22	Sixtus II.	257	2 Epistles	Forged	820
23	Dionysius	258	2 Epistles	Forged	827
24	Felix I.	270	3 Epistles	Forged	904
25	Eutychian	275	2 Epistles	Forged	914
26	Caius	283	1 Epistle	Forged	925
27	Marcellinus	296	2 Epistles	Forged	932
28	Macellus I.	304	2 Epistles	Forged	948
29	Eusebius	309	3 Epistles	Forged	1381
30	Melchiades	311	1 Epistle	Forged	1395
31	Sylvester I.	314	1 Epistle	Forged	58
32	Marcus	336	1 Epistle	Forged	470
33	Julius	336	4 Epistles	2 Forged, 2 } Genuine	475
34	Liberius	352	15 Epistles	5 Forged, 10 } Genuine	744
35	Felix II.	366	2 Epistles	Forged	844
36	Damasus I.	367	10 Epistles	5 Forged, 5 } Genuine	862
37	Siricius	385	5 Epistles	3 Forged, 2 } Genuine	1017
38	Anastasius	398	3 Epistles	2 Forged, 1 } Genuine	1191

These epistles are not merely letters, but Decretal Letters, *i.e.*, having the weight and authority of a decree. Their purpose is fairly stated by Binus, Canon of Cologne, one of the last learned men of the Church of Rome who made a vigorous effort about A.D. 1608 to defend their authenticity, when all others were giving them up as hopeless. He says: 'Most of those letters of the Popes were written about *the Primacy of Peter; the dominion of the Roman Church*; the ordination of bishops; that priests are not to be injured, nor accused, nor deposed; about *appeals being made to the Apostolic See*.' It was under the shadow of these forgeries that the Papal Supremacy grew up. The forgeries are now exposed and avowed, but the doctrines and practices remain.

Archbishop de Marca says: 'It is certain and altogether beyond doubt in the judgment of all learned men, and also of the Cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine, that universally all those letters which precede the time of Siricius and Innocent (A.D. 384-398) were fabricated' (*De Concord.* vii. 20). Many of those that are of later date and which are received as genuine are also more than doubtful. Siricius is said to have written to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona; but there was no Himerius of Tarragona contemporary with him; Eumerius, which is the name most like Himerius, lived fifty years before Siricius. Innocent I. is said to have written to Hilarius, who is supposed to have been a Bishop of Tarragona, but there is no Hilarius in the Tarragona list or any other list of Spanish prelates. Leo I. is said to have written to Turribius; but he cannot be identified. Pope Hilarius is said to

have written to Ascanius, Bishop of Tarragona; but Ascanius's date is a hundred years after that of Pope Hilarius. Criticism declares eighty-five out of one hundred and eleven Papal Decretal Letters to be forgeries, and criticism has not been sufficiently trenchant. Even Devoti says, 'This collection gradually, and step by step, began to obtain use and authority, since in the darkness of those times there was no one who would suspect, or rather who could understand, that the documents given in it were false' (*Instit. Canon.* v. 66). Fleury sets down the points in which the jurisprudence of the Decretals was opposed to the canons of the ancient Church; they may be summed up thus:—

1. That no Council, not even provincial, could be held without the Pope's permission.
2. That no Bishop could be judged definitively except by the Pope.
3. The right of translating Bishops is ascribed solely to the Pope.
4. The Pope alone has the right of erecting new Bishoprics.
5. Metropolitan Sees could only be founded by the Pope.
6. A vast extension of Appeals to the Pope.

Each one of these Fleury proves to be at variance with the canons and discipline of the Ancient Church (*Discours iv. sur l'Hist. Eccles.* p. 210). But they were believed to be ancient, on the authority of Isidore's Decretals, and were built upon, and became the foundation of the Canon Law

of the Western Church. Fleury continues : 'The Decretum of Gratian' (a work of a monk of the twelfth century) 'completely established and extended the authority of the False Decretals, which are found scattered throughout it; for during three centuries no other canons were followed in the schools and the tribunals. Gratian has even gone beyond these Decretals, to extend the authority of the Pope, maintaining that he was not subject to the canons—which he says on his own warrant, and without adducing any proof of authority' (*Ibid.*). 'By the forgery and reception of the Decretals,' says Van Espen, 'the discipline of the Fathers was broken down' (*Op.* iii. 478).

On the basis of the False Decretals Nicolas I. laid the foundation of the Papal Monarchy of the Middle Ages in 860, which was raised to its highest pitch of power by Gregory VII. in the eleventh and by Innocent III. in the thirteenth century. It was not till the sixteenth century that the fraud was discovered and laid bare by the Centuriators of Magdeburg. Therefore, during the whole of the Middle Ages, men in the West were under the impression that they were bound by primitive rule to submit absolutely to the Pope of Rome on all matter of faith and jurisdiction, and this must cause us to pass a more lenient judgment on them as individuals than we could otherwise do. But this very submissiveness, which sought for the Papal approval of each novel tenet as it sprang up, took away from false doctrine the comparatively harmless character of being the speculation of a misguided theologian and made it a formal corruption of the faith of the whole Latin Church.

The chief of these corruptions are put together for us in

what is known as the Creed of Pope Pius IV. For when the errors of the Middle Ages were rejected by the Churches which embraced the Reformation, the Roman Church gathered them up into small compass and imposed a belief in them on its followers. We have, therefore, in that formulary a summary of the faith of the Mediæval Church in addition to and contrasted with that contained in the Catholic Creeds which were the faith of primitive Christendom. The new articles are twelve in number—
1. Transubstantiation; 2. The Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass; 3. Reception of Christ under one kind; 4. The Seven Sacraments; 5. Purgatory; 6. Indulgences; 7. Invocation of Saints; 8. The Veneration of Relics; 9. The Worship of Images; 10. Tradition; 11. Justification by works; 12. The Supremacy of the Church of Rome.

1. We have seen that the idea of an objective presence of Christ in the elements of bread and wine and of a change of those elements into the Body and Blood of Christ took its origin from a misapprehension by the rude northern barbarians of the sixth and seventh centuries, unacquainted with the parabolic and poetical style of the Hebrews and too unlettered to take in any but the most literal sense of the words of Scripture. The conception of the populace, we saw, did not find expression in writing till the ninth century, with which the Middle Ages commence. Then Paschasius Radbert, a monk of Corbey, sprung from the people and educated in the monastery just sufficiently to be the spokesman of his comrades, wrote a treatise containing it. His doctrine was at once controverted by men more learned than himself, who had been trained in the tradi-

tional doctrine of the Church, Amalarius, Archdeacon of Trèves, Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Maintz, John Scotus Erigena, Walafrid Strabo and Bertram or Ratramnus. But argument could not overthrow a now widespread, if ignorant, belief, which based itself, when assailed, on the apparent meaning of the words of Scripture. The materialistic conception still grew, and invaded the higher ecclesiastical ranks, so that two centuries later when Berengarius re-stated the primitive doctrine that the bread and wine were not Christ but were the means of conveying the benefits of His death and passion to the soul if received with faith and love, he was regarded as an innovator and brought before Synods and Popes for heresy. One of the Popes was Hildebrand (Gregory VII.). Hildebrand hesitated, 'he was not sure himself of the change of substance,' but he too had to yield to the pressure from below, and by his command Berengarius made confession (afterwards recanted) that 'the bread and the wine placed upon the altar are by the mystery of holy prayer and the words of the Redeemer converted into the true, actual and life-giving flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and are after consecration the true body of Christ, which was born of the Virgin, and which hung on the cross an offering for the salvation of the world, not only in the way of a sign and in virtue of a sacrament, but also in propriety of nature and truth of substance.' No argumentative basis that would stand could be found for the novel doctrine, and it was therefore rested on the authority of the Roman see. 'The chief thing is to hold about it what the holy Roman Church holds,' said Duns Scotus and other Schoolmen, who refused

to touch it with one of their fingers. Innocent III. found a name for it in the thirteenth century and gave it the sanction of the Mediæval Church at the Fourth Lateran Council. (2)

The tenet is that when the priest utters the words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, 'This is my body,' the essence of the bread is annihilated and disappears, leaving only the colour, shape and appearance of bread, and that at the same moment the place of the essence of bread is taken by the essence of Christ's body, which at the instant has been divested of its colour, shape and appearance, and invested with the colour, shape and appearance of bread ; more than this, that with His body the whole living Person of Christ in His divinity and humanity enters the apparent piece of bread and there abides until consumed. Further, that when the priest utters the words, *Hic est calix sanguinis mei*, 'This is the cup of my blood,' the essence of the wine is annihilated and disappears, leaving only the colour, taste and appearance of wine, and that at the same moment the place of the essence of wine is taken by the essence of Christ's blood which at the instant has been divested of its colour, taste and appearance and been invested with the colour, taste and appearance of wine ; more than this, that with His blood the whole living Person of Christ in His divinity and humanity enters the cup and there abides until it is emptied.

2. The second article of the mediæval faith, the Sacrifice of the Mass, follows from the first and also many more beliefs of the strangest and most repulsive nature. 'As soon as ever Transubstantiation was established,' says

Bishop Cosin, 'a foundation was laid for a number of superstitions and errors which God-fearing men could not sanction nor endure ; and among the believers in Transubstantiation themselves there grew up a forest of questions, inextricable and portentous, with which the Schoolmen occupied themselves to such a degree that it may be truly affirmed that a perfectly new and monstrous theology, unheard of by all the ancients, about the Holy Eucharist and the adoration of the Host, then took its birth' (*Historia Transubstantiationis*, vii. 22). The Sacrifice of the Mass, held informally from the thirteenth century onwards, was authorised by the Council of Trent in 1562. The tenet is that the priest having first caused Christ to enter into the apparent bread and the cup by the formula of consecration, then takes Him and offers Him up to the Father as a Sin-Offering for the living and the dead to propitiate His anger ; and after He has been offered as a propitiatory offering to God, His existence in the bread and the cup is destroyed by the priest's eating one of the wafers of bread and drinking all the wine, after which, the victim being now slain, the sacrifice is accomplished ; but He nevertheless exists still in the other consecrated wafers, which may be worshipped as being Himself, until eaten by the teeth of the communicants.

3. Anselm having, with Lanfranc, learnt the doctrine of Transubstantiation at the monastery of Bec, drew from it the legitimate conclusion that Christ existed in His entirety both in the bread and in the wine, or rather that after consecration the bread was Christ in the integrity of His Person and that the wine was Christ in the integrity of His Person. Consequently to communicate in both kinds

became superfluous, except for the priest, who, having brought Christ into existence in the cup, was bound to terminate that existence there by drinking up the wine. The result of Anselm's dictum, accepted throughout the Middle Ages, was that the cup was taken away from the communicant. This was authorised at the Council of Constance, A.D. 1415, by the following decree:—

‘Since there are some who presume audaciously to assert that the Christian people ought to take the Sacrament of the Eucharist under both kinds of bread and wine, and commonly communicate the laity not only under the species of bread but also under the species of wine . . . although this sacrament was received in the primitive Church by the faithful in both kinds, nevertheless, henceforth let it be received by the officiating priests in both kinds and by the laity only under the species of bread, inasmuch as it is most firmly to be believed, and no way to be doubted, that the whole body of Christ and His blood are truly contained as well under the species of bread as under the species of wine’ (Sess. xiii.).

The tenet is that whereas Christ exists in the integrity of His Person human and divine in each of the elements after consecration, communion is to be given to all but the officiating priest in only one of the elements, and it is arbitrarily determined that that element shall be bread, although Christ at the institution of the sacrament said of the cup, ‘Drink ye all of this,’ and the Church obeyed His command for 1500 years.

4. In the twelfth century the number of the Church's Sacraments was fixed at seven, neither more nor less, ‘not

as a tradition coming down from the Apostles but as the result of theological speculation' (Bonn Conference of 1874).

The tenet is, in the words of Pope Pius IV.'s Creed, that 'there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by the Lord Jesus Christ,' though no proof can be adduced that there were more than two that were so instituted.

5. We have seen that some early speculations were made as to the possibility of all souls having to pass through a purifying fire on the Day of Judgment, and these speculations were improved upon by others, who suggested the possibility of their passing through this purification at some time in the interval between death and judgment; Gregory I. at the beginning of the seventh century encouraging the notion and suggesting that slight faults might be expiated by it. There was no great harm in this imagination of Origen's until two features were added to it—(1) that the period of man's spiritual trial might not be limited to this life but might be continued in this unknown sphere; (2) that people in this place of purgation might be helped out of it by the Church on earth. These two conjectures opened up the possibilities of living unrighteously and yet being all right at the last, and of priestly power over the dead which might be exercised or not according to the will of priests, bishops and popes, who might be induced to act by money offered by the friends of the dead, and to deliver souls from suffering more or less quickly according as they received greater or less payment for Masses in their behalf. Philip IV. of Spain left money

for 100,000 Masses to be said for his royal soul to get him as quickly as possible out of Purgatory. Bishop Bull gives the following account of the gradual formation of the doctrine:—

‘The true rise and growth of the doctrine of Purgatory is plainly this. About the middle of the third century Origen, among other Platonic conceits, vented this—that all the faithful (the Apostles themselves not excepted) shall at the Day of Judgment pass through a purgatory fire, the fire of the great conflagration, which they shall endure for a longer or shorter time, according as their imperfections require a greater or lesser purgation. And in this conceit, directly contrary to many express texts of Scripture, he was followed, for the greatness of his name, by some other great men in the Church of God. But how different this Purgatory is from the Roman, every man of sense will presently discover. Afterwards, about the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, St Austin began to doubt whether this imagined purgation were not to be made in the interval between death and the resurrection, at least as to the souls of the more imperfect Christians. And it is strange to observe how he is off and on in this question. And yet it is not strange either, considering how easily he may, nay, how necessarily he must, be at a loss, that leaves the plain and beaten path of the Holy Scriptures and primitive traditions, to hunt after his own conceits and imaginations. Towards the end of the sixth century, Pope Gregory, a man known to be superstitious enough, undertook dogmatically to assert the problem, and with might and main set himself to prove it, chiefly from the idle stories of appari-

tions of souls coming out of Purgatory. Four hundred years after, Pope John XVIII., or, as some say, XIX., instituted a holy-day, whereon he severely required all men to pray for the souls in Purgatory. As if the Catholic Church before him had been deficient in their charity and forgotten the miserable souls in that place of torment. At length the cabal at Florence in the year 1439 turned the dream into an article of faith, so that now they are damned to Hell that will not believe in a Purgatory. And the Pope's vassals still tenaciously hold and fiercely maintain the doctrine, not so much for the godliness as for the gain of it' (Sermons, i. 124).

6. As soon as the Confessional had been introduced (A.D. 1215), the supposed realm of Purgatory was put to another purpose. It was represented as the place where those who had not done all the penances imposed upon them by the priest to satisfy the justice of God, might go and complete the tale of sufferings which they had not yet fulfilled, but which must be accomplished before they could get to Paradise or Heaven. This at once led to another point. In the earlier Church a bishop who had imposed a sentence of exclusion from the Lord's Table on a transgressor, might, on the offender's showing proof of true penitence, remit a part of the sentence and allow him to return to full communion at an earlier time than had been originally fixed. This was called an Indulgence. In the Middle Ages the name of Indulgence was adopted, but quite a different thing was meant by it. Already in 1095 it had been employed by Pope Urban II. for a grant of remission of sins, which he offered to all Crusaders. 'Urban,

grieving that the Saracens had occupied Jerusalem, preached and, by the vice-gerency committed to him by God, granted remission of sins to all who would go and deliver Jerusalem, adding that if anyone died on the journey, or in battle in the cause of Christ, he should be counted among the martyrs and be absolved from all his sins ; whereupon all the world ran after him, desirous of obtaining remission of their sins and being counted among the martyrs' (Muratori, ii. 2). This grant of remission the Pope called an 'Indulgence of sins,' and it was repeated under the same name on each occasion of a crusade or a quasi-crusade, with a most lamentable effect on the morals of the Crusaders ; and soon it came to be sold to anyone who would help the Pope for the time being in any war that he was waging or in any work that he was carrying on, by giving either money or service towards it. Nor was this all, for the Indulgence was given for the most trifling cause. Boniface VIII. in the year 1300 granted 'not only a full, but a still more abundant, nay, a fullest pardon of all their sins' (non solum plenam sed largiorem, immo plenissimam omnium suorum concedimus veniam peccatorum) to all who visited Rome in the Jubilee Year. This is known as the Jubilee Indulgence. (3) The idea most prominent in Indulgences was the pardon of sins, until Luther's roar of indignation roused the sleeping Church to the iniquity of the system. After that theologians had to be more cautious and to revise their system of grants. Now it was the Sacrament of Penance which conveyed pardon for sin, and it likewise commuted eternal penalties into temporal penalties ; and then Indulgences delivered from the temporal penalties which

had been substituted for the eternal (*Devoti, Inst. Can. De Indulgentiis*). Henceforth an Indulgence was an application, made by the Pope, of the superabundant merits of others who had been better than they need have been, to the recipient of the Indulgence, whereby he was excused a part or the whole of his penances on earth and could be got out of Purgatory before finishing his time there. The merits thus applied to him were an accumulation arising from works of supererogation done by saints and specially St Mary, and from occasional Masses, and (lest it should ever be exhausted) from Christ's merits, and they were kept as a spiritual treasure over which the Pope had full control, bishops being allowed only such a share as would enable them to remit forty-day penance on earth or penalties in Purgatory equivalent to forty-day penance on earth left undone. But to this day the form granting an Indulgence contains a clause bestowing remission of sins as well as Indulgence of temporal, that is, earthly or Purgatorial, sufferings, however that may be explained away by the *schola theologorum*

The tenets on these two articles, which have been closely united since the thirteenth century, are, that all persons except the lost are thrown upon death into a place called Purgatory, where they satisfy the justice of God by suffering in fire the penalties still due to their sins, and that they may be delivered from this place of torment by—(1) an Indulgence from the Pope which may get them out altogether ;⁽⁴⁾ (2) an Indulgence from a bishop which shortens the time by the equivalent of forty days' or sometimes even a year's penance ;⁽⁵⁾ (3) a Mass by a priest, paid for by

surviving relatives, the effects of which are uncertain ; (4) a Mass at a privileged altar, which will at once get a soul out ; (5) a certain sort of scapular (piece of cloth) worn during life, which assures the wearer of being taken out by St Mary on the Saturday after death. Augustinus Triumphus, a theologian belonging to the Papal Court at Avignon, in a book written by the command of Pope John XXII., says that if the Pope will, he can at once empty Purgatory, but that it is not advisable that he should make use of his power in that way.

7. The Invocation of Saints is a prominent tenet of the faith of the Middle Ages. We have traced its origin to the panegyrical orations addressed to martyrs, which we know were not intended as addresses to the dead, but as means of stirring the feelings of the auditors. These addresses, made by orators and poets to senseless things as freely as to those that are or have been sensible (*see* the 'Song of the Three Children,' for example), beginning among Christians in the fifth century, degenerated into invocations and prayers with the increasing superstitions of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries till they could hardly at last be distinguished from that worship of heroes which had been denounced with so much scorn by the early Christian apologists and declared by St Augustine to be impossible for Christians. When we reach the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, Gieseler writes : 'The worship of saints at this period completely swallowed up the worship of God, assuming the character to be expected from a rude, immoral and superstitious age. Great numbers of old saints were discovered and new ones made. (6) This was the age of Legend as well as of

Romance, and industrious monks draped out the saints in the most arbitrary mode with adventures and miracles. . . . The Virgin Mary was honoured above all saints. Saturday was devoted to her and an "Officium S. Mariæ" instituted in her praise. The festival of All Souls, which arose in Clugny after 1024, soon became general throughout the whole Church' (*Eccl. Hist.* iii. 420).

The tenet is that worship is to be paid to dead men and women. This is almost in terms the contradictory of St Augustine's saying : 'By Catholic Christians none of the dead are worshipped' (coli) 'and nothing created or made by God is adored as divinity, but only God Himself, who created and made all things' (*Epist. ad Max.* 17 or 44).

8. A corollary of the tenet that saints are to be worshipped was that their relics were to be venerated, which led to a custom of robbing graves that was singular and characteristic. The first act of Gelmirez (A.D. 1100), Bishop and afterwards Archbishop of St Iago de Compostela, was to go into Portugal, on the plea of a visitation, with the view of getting possession of the bodies of some saints and carrying them to Compostela. His plan was to get leave to say Mass in various churches, and while he was saying Mass, his clerical following stole a saint's body, or if no one was looking he did it himself. In the Church of St Susanna at Braga we are told by the 'Historia Compostellana,' a contemporary record, written under the Bishop's eye, he 'celebrated Mass with the deepest devotion,' and then 'with sighs and tears' broke open the tomb of St Cucufat, St Sylvester and St Susanna, drew out their bodies, and had them conveyed to his lodgings. The next

day he went to the church of St Fructuosus, and having celebrated Mass walked in his robes to the saint's tomb, 'but as St Fructuosus was the defender and patron of that district, it was with greater fear and silence that he took him away by a pious robbery from his church which he had built himself in his lifetime.' Having got his treasures, he hurried off his archdeacon with them to cross the Minho, after which they were safe from the pursuit of the Portuguese, and thence he conducted them to Compostela with singing and dancing. Usuard, the martyrologist, being sent from France into Spain to fetch the body of St Vincent, and not being able to get possession of it, stole the bodies of two Cordovan martyrs instead, as 'he and his companions wept over the thought of going back empty-handed.' The manner in which a second head of St James was transferred from the Holy Land to Compostela is so significant of the morals and of the religion and of the ignorance of the time that I give the account of it below. (7) The contrast between these tales and the story of the treatment of the body of the martyred Polycarp given in the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna marks the difference on this point between the primitive and mediæval faith.

The tenet is that adoring reverence and veneration are to be paid to the relics of saints.

9. We have already traced the worship of icons and pictures to the beginning of the Middle Ages, at which time the Eastern Church had committed itself at the Second Council of Nicæa to the statement that to venerate, worship and adore them was a duty, but that *Latria*, the supreme worship due to Almighty God, might not be paid to them.

We have seen too that the Nicene decrees were rejected by the Council of Frankfort and the nobler nations of the West. But Pope Hadrian was on the other side, and the insistence of the Papal party prevailed, so that, by the time we reach the thirteenth century, the Latin Church had shot beyond her Greek sister in the race of superstition, and it was determined that each image was to be worshipped with the same kind of worship that was due to the original of it, so that the images of Christ were to receive the worship of 'Latria,' those of St Mary of 'hyperdulia' and those of the saints of 'dulia.' This article of the mediæval faith therefore has sunk into teaching plain idolatry.

10. Tradition as a *source* of Divine Truth and tradition as a *witness* to the meaning of Scripture are too often confounded together. If by the tradition of the Church we mean the witness borne by her Councils and by the teaching of her doctors to what was regarded as the right understanding of Scripture at the time that the Council was held or the doctor wrote, it is a valuable aid towards the interpretation of Holy Writ, but in the Middle Ages tradition was accepted as an independent source of knowledge co-ordinate with Scripture. It was necessary, when the faith had become so much changed as not to be justified by the written Word, to find another authority beside that Word to appeal to. Three such authorities were discovered—(1) Traditions which were said to have come down orally from the Apostles; (2) the visions of devout women and monks; (3) the decisions of the Pope for the time being.

This article of the mediæval faith recognises oral tradi-

tion as a source of truth when no such tradition could exist (as it might have existed in the sub-Apostolic age) and serves as a means of overthrowing the unique authority of Scripture and of admitting as truth any superstitions that have become popular.

11. The most far-reaching in its effects of all the mediæval tenets was that on Justification. In the impassioned attack on the bewitched Galatians, and in the majestic arguments addressed to the Romans, St Paul had fought and won the battle for the doctrine of Justification by faith. In his later Epistles that great doctrine was allowed to fall into the background, not because it was less regarded by St Paul, but because his converts had finally accepted it, and therefore there was not the need that had at first existed of enforcing it with all his Apostolic authority and power and vehemence. It appears again in the Epistle to the Philippians, but only as a passing argument, and in the Epistle to the Ephesians it takes the form of an axiom to which the writer contemplates no opposition under the name of Salvation by grace (ii. 5, 8, 9). The controversy on Justification appeared closed, and in the early Church we find no disputes on the subjects, all acquiescing in the doctrine that the meritorious cause of our acceptance is not our own works or deservings but the merits of our Saviour Christ, and all at the same time inculcating the necessity of good works as a condition, though not as the cause, of our final salvation. But after the early centuries had passed, the same spirit which had animated the Judaising Galatians began to work in the bosom of the Christian Church. The pride of man's

heart was not satisfied with the scheme of forgiveness as set forth in the Gospel. Man demanded some means of earning his salvation for himself; and so the subtle minds of the Schoolmen worked out a theory of the utmost ingenuity. Let us take the case of a man standing in the natural strength of morality and upright works; can such a one of his own powers attain to final salvation? No—was the answer and the true answer. But the admission was done away with almost as soon as made, for it was asserted that such a man could and would do such works as that it should become (as the term was) congruous or befitting to God's justice to give him grace. Thus by his *works of congruity* he was said to earn justifying grace. Justifying grace having been thus obtained, his works after this time were said to be such as, with the co-operation of this grace, to merit or earn final acceptance, and were called *works of condignity*. Thus the theory was complete: by merit of congruity a man might earn justifying grace, by merit of condignity he could earn final salvation. Where then was the need of Christ? Luther indignantly protested against the scholastic contention as not only obscuring but absolutely taking away the Gospel and removing Christ. 'For if I, being in mortal sin, can do some little work which is not only pleasing to God in its substance, but can also earn grace *de congruo*, and when I have got that grace, I can do works by grace, that is, love, and acquire of right eternal life, what need have I of God's grace, or of remission of sins, or of the promise, or of the death and victory of Christ? Christ is plainly of no use to me; for I have free will and power of doing good

work by which I earn grace *de congruo* and afterwards eternal life *de condigno*. . . . Therefore with Paul we deny *in toto* congruous and condign merit, and confidently declare that they are mere delusions of Satan never realised. For God never gave anyone grace and eternal life for congruous or condign merit. So these disputationes of the Schoolmen about congruous and condign merit are the unprofitable figments and speculative dreams of idle men about nothings. And yet on them the whole Papacy was established and it rests upon them still' (*Op.* v. 307). And again: 'If we by our own power can make expiation for our sins and abolish death, there would have been no need for Christ to become man and be baptized and die for our sins' (*Ib.* vii. 375).

The tēnet is one that, in Hooker's words, 'attributes unto works a power of satisfying God for sin and a virtue to merit both grace here and in heaven glory' (*Serm.* II. 34).

12. The last article of the mediæval faith, as summed up in Pope Pius's Creed, is 'that the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome is the mother and mistress of all Churches,' and 'that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of the prince of the Apostles, St Peter, and the Vicar of Jesus Christ.' Here there are four matters of fact dogmatically affirmed; first that the Church of Rome is the mother as well as mistress of all Churches; but this is a thing which history proves demonstrably to be false, inasmuch as the Church of Jerusalem is the mother of all Churches and the Church of Rome has never been mistress of the Churches of the East: secondly, that St Peter was the prince of the Apostles, which the record of Holy

Scripture proves demonstrably to be false, if the phrase 'prince of the Apostles' means (as it is intended to mean) more than that he was *primus inter pares*, that is, that he took a leading position among his twelve comrades: thirdly, that the Bishop of Rome is 'successor of St Peter,' a position first taken up argumentatively by Leo I. in the fifth century, but contrary to the evidence of history, even as regards the Roman diocesan Episcopate (for history affirms the possible or probable presence of St Peter at Rome, but not his episcopate there), and altogether unfounded as to a supposed primacy or supremacy, which, in fact, St Peter never held: fourthly, that the Bishop of Rome is 'the Vicar of Jesus Christ,' whereas he is no more the Vicar of Christ than any or every other bishop of the Church, and in claiming a special and exclusive Vicariate he trenches on the prerogative of the Holy Spirit. Out of these four alleged facts, none of which are true, is compounded the dogma of the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, unknown to the Apostolic age, unknown to the sub-Apostolic age, unknown to the primitive Church, unacknowledged by the Western Church until it was hoodwinked by the false Decretals in the ninth century, unrecognised by the Eastern Church throughout the whole of its existence from the first to the nineteenth century, and rejected by the Teutonic Churches as soon as learning revived within them.

The tenet is that the Bishop of Rome is the supreme monarch of the Church of Christ and the Church of Rome the mistress of all other Churches.

NOTES

(1) Some have thought the title *Decretals of Isidore* derived from the forger's name having been *Isidore Mercator*.

(2) The decrees of the Fourth Council of the Lateran are of doubtful authority. They were never heard of, as such, till the year 1538 (323 years after the Council was held) when they were published by Cochlaeus, having been edited, as he said, by Innocent III. some time after the Council had been held. Some of the difficulties in the way of their being genuine are that the Council is made three times to speak of itself as a thing past. 'In Lateranensi Concilio noscitur fuisse prohibitum' is one of these passages. 'Who can persuade himself,' says Bishop Cosin, 'that this Council of Lateran should cite the Council of Lateran in the decrees and canons which were there compiled, that is, that it should cite *itself* as a Council not now sitting but passed? Will any man think these be the words of the Council of Lateran *itself*?' (*Memorial*). Jeremy Taylor, like Cosin, denies the authenticity of the Acts of the Council (vi. 377). Platina and Matthew Paris state that no decrees whatever were made at it. 'Non est decretum ibi quicquam' (Plat. *De vitis Pont. Rom.*) and on this account 'totus clerus abiit tristis' (M. Paris, *Histor. Min.*). Probably the decrees are the decrees of Innocent III., to which he assumed the Council's assent.

(3) This 'fullest' pardon is what the pilgrims to Rome in 1900-1901 are earning, but no one can tell how a 'fullest pardon' differs from a 'full pardon' as the Pope says it does. 'The so-named Jubilee Indulgence,' says Dr Döllinger, 'occasions the Roman theologians much solicitude. However much trouble they may give themselves to show its precedence of any other plenary Indulgence, it is fundamentally no more complete Indulgence than the common perfect Indulgence, which one can obtain much more easily and conveniently. The grand movement which they seek to put upon the stage during a Jubilee, even now, and the commendation of the Jubilee Indulgence in pastorals, briefs and sermons, has therefore in it something fictitious and untrue' (Speech at Bonn Conference of 1875).

(4) A Papal Indulgence may be plenary or for any length of time. A Mass said at S. Francisco in Mexico is said to have been indulged with 32,310 years 10 days and 6 hours.

(5) It was Innocent III. who confined bishops to granting forty days or on special occasions one year.

(6) The first example of papal canonisation was that of Ulrich,

Bishop of Augsburg, in 993 by John XV. Metropolitans claimed the right of declaring saints for their provinces down to 1153.

(7) Maurice, Bishop of Coimbra and afterwards of Braga, paying a visit to Jerusalem, heard from an old priest that a little church near the city contained the relic of St James's head. Maurice tried to bribe the old man to let him have it, frequenting the church and often attending vigils there. But the custodians were always present, so he made a plan that two of his clergy should feign sickness and for the relief of their sickness should offer wax candles to the church and spend the night in it. Seizing an opportunity when no one was there in the middle of the night, they shut the doors, took out some spades that they had previously hidden, and dug up from under the altar an ivory box containing a silver box full of relics (one of which was St James' head), of which they took possession and ran full speed, with the bishop, to Jerusalem. As they were running a hermit called to them and said, 'I know, dearest brothers, what it is that you are carrying and what a precious treasure you have stolen. Go and the grace of God go with you, for the Apostle's head ought to be where his body is.' These words 'made the bishop see that the Holy Spirit had revealed what he had done to the servant of God.' He set off at once for Spain and deposited the relic in the Church of St Zoilus at Carrion, and from thence it was taken by Queen Urraca to Leon and presented to Gelmirez. The bishop received it with great joy. Clergy and people came out from Compostela to meet him as he brought the sacred treasure. He and the canons walked with bare feet before it, saying psalms. 'How the people danced!' says Canon Gerard, an eye-witness; 'and I myself, coming back with the bishop, burst into tears through too much joy.' But now a *contre-temps* occurred. It appeared that according to the Spanish legend about St James he already had his head (cut off by Herod) with his body at Compostela. What was to be done? The Bishop of Jerez convinced himself that it was the other St James' head, the more as it had 'a contusion' on it which might have been caused by the fuller's pole with which St James the Less was struck more than a thousand years before (*History of the Church of Spain*, p. 320, Wells Gardner 1892).

CHAPTER II

THE WORSHIP OF THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH

THE character of the worship of the Christian Church necessarily changed with its faith. Each one of the new articles of the mediæval faith necessarily affected the forms and the nature of the worship, but more especially those changes which, with or without the Fourth Lateran Council, Innocent III. introduced into the Christian religion or sanctioned in the year 1215. How could it be otherwise? I will point out some of the results of each of these articles of faith on the Church's worship.

1. Take first the doctrine of Transubstantiation. During the first century we have seen that the only ceremony with which the sacred elements in the Lord's Supper were received was that, towards the end of the Supper, not yet held in a church, silence was called, all present no doubt rose to their feet, the presiding presbyter offered an extempore prayer of blessing over a loaf of bread and a cup of mixed wine and water, and the deacon carried portions of the bread and the wine to each person present, which they ate and drank in solemn memory of their departed and risen Lord. Then they completed the supper, and at the end of the whole meal a thanksgiving was offered to God for supplying man with the products of the earth for

his sustenance, and for the redemption of man by the death of Christ; the evening being finished by singing psalms or hymns either already known or newly composed by any that had a poetical gift. When in the second century the Holy Communion was transferred to the forenoon, and appended to the matin service (occasionally to the ante-lucan service) the devotional forms with which it was surrounded were increased, and a greater solemnity was given to it by the dismissal, one after the other, of all heathen, catechumens and penitents, leaving only the communicants and a few penitents who were permitted to remain, but, as a penance, were not allowed to communicate with the faithful. But still all was most simple; no ceremony was employed except such as was necessary for comeliness and order. The accompaniments of the Eucharistic celebration were the repentance, faith and love of each thankful heart, not any external gorgeousness of ritual. But when the thought had been born that the bread and wine were, or might be, not only the memorials of Christ and a means of grace to the faithful, but the actual body and blood of the Lord, more ceremony and pomp were demanded, and when Hildebrand had adopted, and Innocent III. had imposed upon Latin Christendom, the dogma that after consecration the elements were no longer bread and wine at all, but each of them the living Person of Christ, come down from heaven at the call of the priest, and then lying upon an altar, what magnificence of pomp and ceremony could be too great, what genuflexions and prostrations could be too humble, what bursts of triumphant music could be too glorious, what splendour of light and

Worship of the Mediæval Church § 6

colour could be too dazzling, to greet the Lord when in visible, though veiled, form He visited His people? The difference between the worship of the primitive and that of the Mediæval Church is the difference between the simplicity of the spiritual and inward worship of a Father brought nigh by a loving Saviour, and the complexity and excitement of external adoration paid to a great King.

Beside the magnificent pomp which the mere fact of Transubstantiation demanded, there were certain results following from the tenet which affected the forms of the Church's worship in the highest degree. The first of these is Adoration. If I believe that this bread is the body, soul and spirit of Christ, nay, is many Christs, as many as the parts into which the bread is divided, and that this cup of wine is the body, soul and spirit of Christ, nay, of many Christs, as many as the portions into which the wine may be divided, how can I help worshipping it? Adoration follows necessarily on the belief, and begins with it; it was not till the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that adoration of the Host began (Bingham, xv. 5). The new faith produced a new practice, of which there is no indication till the faith was changed from the primitive to the mediæval. What an enormous difference in the forms of worship must have ensued with a view to adoring the Sacrament may be easily imagined. One of these changes consisted in the Elevation of the Host for worship immediately after consecration. This is first found ordered in the Constitutions of Odo, Bishop of Paris, in the year 1197, who wrote: 'Presbyters are ordered, when they have begun, "Who in the same night," etc., holding the Host, not to raise it too

much at once, so as to be seen by the people, but to keep it about the level of the breast until they have said, "This is my body," and then to raise it so as to be seen by all' (Labbe et Cossart, x. 1808). This was eighteen years before the official sanction of Transubstantiation. Eleven years later a further step was taken by Guido, a Papal legate in Germany, who enjoined the use of a bell at the time of the Elevation, and desired the congregation to prostrate themselves at its sound till after the consecration of the cup (Cæsarius Heisterbacensis, *Hist.* ix. 51). Throughout the thirteenth century the command to elevate was reiterated again and again, and a Synod of Exeter, in 1287, declared the purpose of the ceremony. 'Because by these words, "This is my body," and by no others, the bread is transubstantiated into the body of Christ, let not the priest elevate the Host until he has brought out these words, lest the creature be worshipped by the people for the Creator' (Wilkins, ii. 132). The main object of Elevation was to give occasion of worshipping the *Sacramentum* no longer regarded as a *Sacramentum*, but as Him of whose body it is the *sacramentum* or outward sign. We see in the present day how effective a ceremony it is to awe an unlettered crowd, as they sink down on their knees at the sound of the bell, and worship their dimly-seen object of adoration, which they believe to have just descended from heaven. Its first introduction must have made a noticeable change in the order of worship.

Another result of Transubstantiation, having a similarly striking effect on worship, is the Reservation of the Host, to form and keep a local presence of Christ in churches for

Worship of the Mediæval Church

adoration. If priests could create His presence apart from reception and apart from the faith of the recipient, how should they not always keep Him by them—though Christ had said that it was expedient for them that He should go away (John xvi. 7)? And when He was present, how should they not worship Him? New forms of worship must at once arise, though they had not yet developed into the forty hours' adoration (*Quaranta ore*) or the perpetual adoration of the Host, nor into the Benediction of the people by the bread.

Transubstantiation was the parent of Reservation, and Transubstantiation and Reservation together produced Processions of the Host. If the King of Heaven was shut within a pyx, it was but reasonable that He should from time to time hold His royal progresses, like other kings in the East, during which He should give opportunities to His subjects to offer Him their homage and adoration. It was not enough that He should be carried from the church to the beds of the sick and receive the salutations of the people as He went, nor that He should proceed to the aid of any who by a sudden accident were in danger of their lives, carried by the hands of His priests. He must have a special day devoted to the worship of Him within the Host and to His royal processions under the form of bread. Therefore in 1264, a short half-century after the sanction of Transubstantiation, Urban IV. instituted the festival of *Corpus Christi*, on which, after worship had been offered to the Sacrament in church, it should be carried in procession and adored by devout multitudes as Christ Himself. The institution of the festival had been

demanded by Juliana, a nun of Liége, who 'looking at the full moon saw a gap in its orb, and by a peculiar revelation from Heaven learnt that the moon represented the Christian Church, and the gap the want of a certain festival—that of the adoration of the Body of Christ in the consecrated Host—which she was to begin to celebrate and commend to the world' (Hook, *Church Dictionary*). Juliana had her revelation in 1230, fifteen years after the Lateran Council which sanctioned Transubstantiation. The festival which she is supposed to have originated could not but affect the Church's worship not only on *Corpus Christi* day but every day, by pressing one of the consequences of the tenet of Transubstantiation.

Another act of devotion springing from the same source, and affecting worship public and private, was the imposition of fasting as a necessity preceding Communion, which led more and more to early celebrations of the Communion. In the first century fasting was expected before adult baptism, but it was not expected and was never practised before the Holy Communion. In the fourth century it was expected before both, because it was thought the soul was brought into a better state of preparation before a solemn rite by a moderate refection than it would be after the full noon-day meal, and everyone that received before that meal was counted as fasting though he had had his breakfast. But with Transubstantiation a new imagination sprang up, that it was irreverent to place common food in juxtaposition with the Lord's body by eating beforehand. So a rule was formulated in 1270 (still in the thirteenth century) by Thomas Aquinas, that no food must be

Worship of the Mediæval Church §•

taken from the previous midnight to the time of reception. The whole idea and purpose of the fasting was now changed; it became, not a help to the maintenance of a reverent state of mind, which might be disturbed by the effect of food and drink lately taken, but an act of asceticism founded on an irreverent thought, and so oppressive as to prevent Christians from coming to the Lord's Table because they would not adopt this unapostolic practice, which was made a previous condition.

2. The Sacrifice of the Mass. We have seen that the theory of Transubstantiation makes Christ enter upon a new sacramental existence in all the integrity of His Person on the utterance of the words of consecration, and that the priest then takes Him, a living Person, presents Him to the Father as a sacrifice, and kills Him in His sacramental existence by eating one of the Hosts and drinking the whole of the wine. It is evident that such a transaction as this required a very different ritual from the humble eating and drinking of bread and wine in memory of Christ's sacrificial death and receiving God's blessing conveyed by the rite to the faithful soul. The two ideas of sacrifice and sacrament being now divided, and the sacrificial idea being paramount, it became possible to institute 'low Masses' for communion and 'high Mass' for worship apart from reception. At the new service of 'high Mass' there was no need of any communicant except the priest, whose reception was necessary to kill the sacrificial victim in His sacramental being. What had the congregation to do? They were to gaze upon the act of the priest in sacrificing Christ and offer their prayers to Him as He underwent the process of

sacrifice. Hence the practice of 'Hearing Mass' or, as it is now sometimes called, 'Non-communicating attendance,' when the laity are no longer joyously feasting with their reconciled Father, but watching a mediating priest making their reconciliation with an alienated God by sacrificing the Son of God as a sin-offering in their behalf. Those who had come to believe that such a tremendous scene could be enacted were little likely to be satisfied while it was performed with the simple ritual of the Lord's Supper as celebrated in the Primitive Church; and further, an absolutely new devotion, that of attendance at the sacrifice without communicating, which Chrysostom had so indignantly forbidden, took the first place in the Church's weekly or daily worship.

Another consequence of the change of faith was the attention paid to clerical dress in the Middle Ages. For the first 500 years, which, as we have seen, constitute the Primitive Church, the clergy simply wore, when officiating, what we should familiarly call their best clothes, that is, not their every-day dress but that which they and others put on for festival meetings or solemn ceremonials of any kind. Their dresses therefore differed according to the taste of individuals and the fashion of the day. Constantine is said by Theodoret to have given a robe with gold thread in it to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, to use at baptisms (not at the Eucharist), and his successor Cyril was charged with having sold it to an actress (*Ecl. Hist.* ii. 23). At a little later date Jerome speaks of clergy wearing white dresses while officiating (*Adv. Pelag.* i.). A little later again, A.D. 423, Pope Celestine complains that people were introducing special robes.

'We have been informed that certain priests of the Lord are devoting themselves rather to superstitious observances in dress than to purity of thought and of faith. By dressing in a *pallium*, and wearing a girdle round their loins, they think to fulfil the truth of Scripture not in the spirit but in the letter. But if the precepts to which they refer were for this end given, that after this strange fashion they should be observed, why are not the precepts which follow observed in like manner, and so "burning lights" held in the hands as well as "a staff"? The words they quote have a mystical meaning of their own, and to men of understanding are clear to be observed according to a more fitting interpretation. For by the girding up of the loins is signified Chastity; and by the staff Pastoral Rule; and by "burning lights" the brightness of good works, concerning which it is said (Matt. v. 16), "Let your works shine." We should be distinguished from the common folk, and from the rest, by our learning, not by our garments; by our mode of life, not by what we wear; by purity of thought, not by peculiarities of dress. For if we begin to affect innovations, we shall tread under foot the traditions of our fathers, only to make room for worthless superstitions. We ought not therefore to attract to objects such as these the untrained minds of the faithful. It is teaching they require, not mockeries such as these, nor is it an imposing appearance to the eye that is needed, but precepts to be instilled into the mind' (Labbe et Cossart, ii. 1618).

During the transitional centuries (the sixth, seventh and eighth) it became a point of pride in educated men, clerical

and secular, to cling to the garb of civilisation, that is, of the Latin race, as a mark to distinguish them from the barbarous tribes that were over-running the world, just as they clung for the same reason to the Latin speech. Such officials of the Empire as remained in the conquered provinces retained with care their Roman magistrates' costume, and the clergy were content so that their dress marked them as civilised men, and not barbarians. Thus the more dignified forms of the old Roman or Byzantine lay dress became the dress of the clergy in the West.

When we reach the Middle Ages, A.D. 800, the world had so changed that one of the 'barbarians' had become the great Emperor Charlemagne. The dresses of the Byzantine Empire were no longer marks of superiority, and were regarded as old-fashioned and not sufficiently ornamental for new needs. The clergy looked about for vestments which might be supposed to correspond with those of Aaron, and they attributed to them any number of symbolic meanings, which they first found in the Aaronic vestments and then in their own. Rabanus Maurus, Amalarius and Walafrid Strabo in the ninth century, an Alcuin (not the Englishman) and Ivo in the eleventh, Hugo, a Sancto Victore and Honorius in the twelfth, wrote treatises on the subject; and then we come to a work of Innocent III. (A.D. 1215), for whose new theology new vestments were naturally sought, and in the same century (A.D. 1290), Durandus wrote his 'Rationale divinorum officiorum,' which is of authority to the present day. In this book he lays it down that the priest's vestments are six, because six is a perfect number; 'for when we add

one, two and three together, the number six is fulfilled'; and the additional vestments or ornaments of a bishop are nine, because 'there are nine orders of angels.' The six are Amice, Alb, Girdle, Stole, Maniple, Chasuble; the nine, Buskins, Sandals, Undergirdle, Tunic, Dalmatic, Gloves, Mitre, Ring, Pastoral Staff. He is happy that a bishop has more than eight vestments, whereas Aaron had only eight; this shows his superiority. Each one of them symbolises anything or everything according to Durandus's imagination, and it does not matter whether the various significations of the same thing agree with or contradict one another. (1) Durandus also enters minutely into the question at what seasons white, black, red, green, violet, yellow should be used. On the contrary, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, in the second century, forbid all dyed colours in dress: 'And if it be said that the Lord, the great High Priest, offers the incense of sweet savour unto God, let them learn that this is no sacrifice and sweet savour of (actual) incense, but that which the Lord offers is the acceptable oblation of holy love, the *spiritual* sweet savour upon the altar' (*Pædag.* ii. 233).

The process of transformation of the Church's worship and its accessories resulting from Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass was hastened by the practice, unknown in the early or in the Eastern Church, of employing a language in public prayer not understood by the people. This practice probably arose accidentally, from a feeling that the barbarous tongues in the sixth century were too vulgar to be used in addresses to God, but by-and-by the hierarchy found it to their interest, for, in consequence, no public

devotions could be used which were not dramatic, like the Mass, and so matins and evensong dropped away as public services, and were only kept up by monastic bodies and cathedral chapters, to which they were confined, while public 'praying with the understanding,' or reading God's Word, or singing the inspired psalms, which had formed the whole of the worship of the Church of the first century, with the exception of the evening Agape, ceased, leaving little but the Mass.

3. From the doctrine of the Objective Presence, afterwards expressed by the word Transubstantiation, we have seen that there follows immediately Anselm's proposition, that Christ in all the integrity of His Person is contained and received in each of the elements after consecration. From Anselm's proposition there necessarily follows the vast liturgical change of denying the cup to all but the officiating priest. This conclusion, however, is so directly in opposition to the plain words of Christ that it took 200 years after the declaration of Transubstantiation for the Church to make up its mind to avow it. Then, at the Council of Constance, A.D. 1415, the administration of the cup was doggedly forbidden. The popular objection given to administering the cup was the danger of spilling the wine, but that danger did not exist any more in the fifteenth century than in the previous fourteen centuries, and the reason why it was regarded so much more seriously in the fifteenth century was that according to the doctrine of the Objective Presence in the elements and Anselm's dictum any drop of wine adhering to the moustache or dropped from it must be

Christ's blood, nay more, Christ Himself. Crumbs could be guarded against by the use of wafers, but nothing could prevent the possibility of the drops of wine falling. Therefore the form of administration used for fourteen hundred years had to be given up and another substituted which was in direct contradiction of the command of Christ. From the fourteenth century onwards no Roman Catholic lay person has received the Holy Communion as Christ instituted it, either in its inward purpose or even in its outward form.

4. The classification of the Sacraments as seven (by Peter Lombard first, in 1140, by Eugenius's Instruction to the Armenians in 1440, and made an article of faith at Trent in 1547) pushed to the front the rite of Penance, which Innocent III. at the Lateran Council made obligatory on all; and this rite, now regarded as a sacrament, had an untold effect on the religious life of every devout man and woman. In the Primitive Church there was no confession except of some very heinous sins represented by Idolatry, Murder and Adultery, and confession of them was not made to the priest for absolution, but to the congregation, and its purpose was to assure the congregation that the transgressor was so sorry for his sin that he might be restored to communion, and to get their prayers in his behalf. By degrees the opinion grew that if the clergy could be certified of his penitence, that assurance would be a sufficient guarantee for justifying his re-admission to communion without his public declaration of his offence, and Leo I. ruled that the prayers of the clergy were sufficient as they represented the congregation. But as

time went on the position of the priest was altered. He was no longer the mouthpiece of the congregation, praying to God for the sinner's pardon, but the vice-gerent of God, and able not only to assure the penitent of the Church's forgiveness for sins committed against her, but to bestow God's forgiveness for sins committed against Him. At once absolution was altered from a prayer to God for the transgressor's pardon, which it had always been up to the thirteenth century, into an indicative form ('I absolve thee') by which the priest conveyed and gave pardon himself. All this fell in with the decree of Innocent III. in 1215, that everyone must confess to his parish priest and be absolved by him at least once in the year. The result was a revolution in the Church's practice of religion, just as Transubstantiation had made a revolution in the Church's faith. The two changes together set the priest on a pinnacle of authority which placed him midway between God and man, forgiving sins also as well as by his word transmuting bread into Christ.

The forms for Ordination, another of the seven sacraments, were expanded at the same time, in order to authorise the assumptions of the mediæval priesthood. These assumptions, ignorantly acquiesced in, laid the layman a slave at the foot of the priest.

Another effect of putting these seven rites on a level as sacraments was to turn men's attention to Extreme Unction. The sick were miraculously cured by anointing in Apostolic days, and even after the gift of healing had been withdrawn, there were some who still were anointed in sickness, in hopes of deriving benefit from

the ceremony, and that is still done in the Oriental Church whenever a sick man desires it. The administration of the unction was not at first confined to the clergy, but in the twelfth century it came entirely into their hands and began to be considered as a normal preparation for a Christian's death. Hence it derived the name of 'extreme' or 'the last,' and Extreme Unction was soon identified with unction *in extremis*, and in the Latin Church was used only for one about to die, instead of for one who was to be cured. It was often combined with a death-bed administration of the Holy Communion, called the *viaticum* or provision by the way, frequently misunderstood to mean a provision on the road from earth to heaven or Paradise, whereas it really means provision for the way to the end of the earthly pilgrimage.⁽²⁾ The increased value put upon Extreme Unction added to the estimation of the priest, who now could alone administer it.

5 and 6. The combination of the doctrine of Indulgences with that of Purgatory, which took place in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, opened a new sphere for the religious and devotional life. If it were true that friends, parents, children were suffering in fire equal in intensity to hell fire, and if it were true that they could be got out of this place of torment by Indulgences earned by the living, how could any friend, child, or parent, left on earth, fail to occupy himself in earning Indulgences applicable to the souls in Purgatory, and how could anyone looking forward to the future fail to earn and keep a store of them for his own use on his death-bed? Further, if Masses for that intention could bring the dead out of the

flames more quickly, and if these Masses could be purchased at a price varying from 9d. to 5s. (3) who would not purchase them? By the hope of Indulgences attached to some acts and not to others the religious effort of the laity was turned wherever it pleased the Pope and the bishops to turn it, from building a church to going on a crusade; and the Masses for the dead gave not only a stipend but religious or at least ecclesiastical work to the priests.

7. Prayers to saints became more popular than to God, because they did not demand so much intensity of mind and reverential awe. St Mary in particular was portrayed with all the graciousness of womanly love; tales were told to prove that none that trusted in her could be lost, and visions were recounted of ladders set to heaven, one red, at the top of which stood Jesus, the other white, from the top of which bent down Mary, and men were seen to fall and fall from the red ladder and none helped them, while as soon as anyone made a false step on the white ladder, the gracious arm of Mary was reached down and held them up and drew them safely into heaven. Christ became an object of fear, Mary of love; Christ was thrust further and further back, while the Father, further back still, was unapproachable in His majesty. How different from the feelings entertained towards God and Jesus and expressed by St Paul and St John!

Another result followed from the worship of saints and consequent multiplication of saints' days which was probably not intended or expected. This was the secularisation of the Lord's day. Down to the time of Charlemagne its observance had become more and more careful,

Worship of the Mediæval Church

and then a change to laxity occurred, which has grown and prevailed ever since in some parts of the Church. Why was this? It was not a feeling of hostility to religion or to Christianity that led to it, but a mistaken view of the nature of the obligation to keep the Sunday. Without any intention of dishonouring it, the divine sanction of the day was disregarded or denied and its authority was rested on the appointment of the Church. It was no longer the Christian Sabbath instituted by God and recognised by Christ, but it was a festival of the Church, to be treated, like other festivals, reverently and devoutly, as the Church desired all her festivals to be treated. But there were so many of them! Not only Christmas, Epiphany, Whitsuntide and other great solemnities, but numberless feasts of saints and martyrs, till almost every day was a festival! How could they be observed and the work of the world still be carried on? It was necessary to regard some of them lightly, and these pulled down the rest and with the others the Lord's day. Something was done to sanctify them all, but the observance which was sufficient and more than sufficient for some obscure saint's day was a profanation of the Lord's day. Some of the festivals became reasonably days of amusement and enjoyment after certain religious exercises had been gone through, and this practice was transferred to the Sunday. The heads of the Church, unlike those of the first five centuries, winked at doubtful amusements, then openly encouraged them, and if the Sunday was only the Church's day, like the saints' days, not the Lord's day, why should not the laymen acquiesce in the manner of observing it which the existing Church thought

adequate? Thus the observance of the day slid down from its first holiness to profaneness and laxity. It was not irreligious men that brought about this result, but men who were anxious still to see the day kept holy, men who, if they withdrew from it the divine sanction of Holy Scripture, substituted for that sanction the command of the Church, which they believed would be of sufficient weight to preserve the sanctity of the Sunday and the other festivals, men who wished to see a little more amusement permitted on account of the infirmity of human nature, but by no means expected to see that concession paving the way to an obliteration of the distinctive character of the day as a day of rest and religious worship, men who thought that the more holy days there were the more holily they would be kept. Richard Baxter has said, 'The devil has been a great undoer by overdoing. When he knew not how else to cast out the holy observation of the Lord's day with zealous people, he found out the trick of devising so many days called holy days, to set up by it, that the people might perceive that the observation of them all as holy was not expected. And so the Lord's day was jumbled up in the heap of holy days and all turned into ceremony by the Papists and too many other Churches in the world' (*Divine Appointment of the Lord's Day*).

8. The veneration of relics led to a still more grovelling spirit than the worship of saints. What seemed to the Church of Smyrna in the second century impossible (*Epist. xvii.*) came about in the Middle Ages and had its necessary effect. Men thought themselves safe under the protection

not of God but of the dead body of a saint or of one of his bones. They robbed one another of these ghastly treasures, and they made up false relics by the thousand with which it was thought to make God's house more sacred, and they paid veneration to them on their knees when they were exhibited by their priestly custodians. Can exhibitions like that of the miracle of St Januarius's blood have any other than a debasing effect on some while they turn others into scoffers?

9. The worship of images, like the veneration of relics, is an indication of how feeble the faith of the Church had grown in things spiritual, crying out for something visible, tangible, near at hand, to catch hold of. A brave, bold faith, launching itself outwards and upwards, soars to the throne of God. But a weak faith cannot do this. It falls back, flags, droops, and then it cries out for some nearer object of worship, which it may reach without so great an exertion or prolonged effort. This is the *rationale* of image worship, icon worship and the worship of the sacrament. What those practices prove is not a strong but a weak faith, seeking for props and crutches. In the earliest times the Churches of Christians had caused astonishment to the heathen because they had no figures in them. The crucifixes and images which filled mediæval Churches showed how unspiritual as well as feeble the people's faith had become.

10. The effect of oral tradition and supposed visions being regarded as independent sources of the faith in addition to Holy Scripture took away all steadfastness from doctrine and opened the way to new and newer form

of worship. On one or other of these bases—oral tradition or visions—new cults formed themselves which sprout up in greater abundance the more that the old faith decays. At the present day a Nestorian worship which is pervading the whole Latin communion has been framed out of the revelations of St Mary Alacoque, and in the Middle Ages the fancies of Juliana, we have seen, originated the worship of the Body of the Lord in the Sacrament on Corpus Christi day. Of old a supposed oral tradition was made answerable for any form of worship, such as image or saint worship, which superstition introduced; the more common resource of late has been revelations to women and monks. Then follows a Papal utterance, and a fresh fashion of worship is established.

11. The results of the mediæval doctrine of Justification on personal religion and worship were most grave. The primitive doctrine had been that the merits of Christ, grasped by our faith, are the meritorious cause of our justification and that the free mercy of God thereupon grants us salvation on the condition of our love and obedience. We could not therefore earn our salvation by any number of good works that we might perform, though good works were nevertheless necessary for our final salvation, having been 'prepared for us to walk in.' The scholastic theory made good works done by means of the co-operation of divine grace the cause of our justification (which they confused with Sanctification) and of our salvation at the last. Hence every good work done by the help of grace went some way towards forming the aggregate which would insure salvation; and therefore every prayer, every act of

Worship of the Mediæval Church 60

fasting and asceticism, penances, pilgrimages, and such-like works, were regarded as meriting God's favour and laying up a claim for reward, and they were done not as free acts of filial devotion, but as a means of earning salvation or making satisfaction for sin past. Therefore, also, some would have greater deserts and claims on heaven than others according to the number of their works, nay, many do more good works than they need for themselves ; these are works of supererogation, the merits of which may be handed on by the Pope to someone else who has not done enough.⁽⁴⁾ Thus mediævalism corrupted the free worship of the heart offered to God and made men think that by every separate act, such as attending Mass or visiting a sick person, they were earning something towards their salvation, and it led them to believe that an act of kindness was not only to be regarded as the outcome of a living faith (and so disregarded by the agent) but as a laying up merit for themselves and atoning for their sins. This is not the free spirit of Christianity. It produced a life of dull observance instead of the joyous, living, loving devotion of a child of God. It filled churches with attendants who came to them, not to pour out their souls to God, but to perform a penance for sin and earn merit.

12. The supremacy of the Pope of Rome, won by Gregory VII. and Innocent III., had an indefinitely but infinitely great influence on the worship as well as the faith of the Mediæval Church. Whatever the Pope ordered to be believed had to be accepted, and whatever prayers he sanctioned had to be used. It was thus that many superstitious offices were added to the mediæval prayer

book. The following was a common method. Some fanatical person, like Juliana or St Bridget or St Mary Alacoque, had waking dreams on some religious point. Being sincere of belief, he or she gathered followers who met together and offered prayers in common. To keep the fanatics within the fold of the Church, the bishop gave his sanction to their proceedings, and a formal office was drawn up for their annual use. Next, this office obtained the approval of the Pope for local but only local use, and then finally it was imposed by his authority upon all Christendom, together with the idle stories that had originated it. This is the history of numberless saints'-day services in the Mediæval Church.⁽⁵⁾ Papal authority was employed in like manner for the abolition of primitive forms of worship. By Papal urgency Charlemagne did away with the Gallican Liturgy, and by Hildebrand's threats and violence Alonzo VI. was forced to abolish the old Gothic or Mozarabic Liturgy in Spain. All Church books were at the mercy of the Pope, to be abolished like the old Church books of Malabar, or interpolated, or added to as he pleased, and no murmur was to be heard in opposition on peril of 'the sword of St Peter being unsheathed' against the disobedient, according to the threat of Hildebrand to Alonzo VI. when he hesitated in abandoning the National Liturgy.

The further extravagancies relative to the infallibility of the Pope and his universal Bishopric, and the sinlessness of St Mary, which have been officially sanctioned in our own lifetime by a similar process, I leave on one side for the present, because they do not belong to the period now

under consideration. If we reckon the cumulative force of the changes made in the Middle Ages alone, we shall see that the faith and worship of the Mediæval Church, though retaining a substratum of the original Christian religion, were practically quite other than the faith and worship of the Primitive Church, owing chiefly to the manipulation of Pope Innocent III.; and we shall observe that the change made in worship resulted from the change made in the faith.

NOTES

(¹) It is noticeable that even at the end of the thirteenth century the Chasuble has not yet become a 'sacrificial garment.' It signifies 'Charity,' 'the wedding garment,' 'love of God and love of our neighbour.' Its three folds on the right arm mean that we must 'succour monks, clergy and laity'; its three folds on the left arm (these folds exist no longer) that we are to 'minister to bad Christians, Jews and Paynims.' It means also 'the Catholic Church,' 'Aaron's vestment,' 'the Jewish Church' and 'Christ's purple robe.' But it has not yet come to symbolise sacrifice, so why should it do so now? The Cope signifies 'the cares of the world,' 'heavenly delight,' 'perseverance,' 'eternal life,' 'immortality.'

(²) The Council of Nicaea is often quoted as enjoining a final *viaticum*; but this is a mistake. The injunction only applies in the case of those who have been excommunicated for life or a long period. In their case the Council desires that though the period of their excommunication were not completed, they should yet be admitted to communion, lest they should die without the peace of the Church. The canon (can. xiii.) has nothing to do with any that are already enjoying the peace of the Church, and the necessity or desirableness of a death-bed communion of the faithful cannot be based on the canon.

(³) The price of a Mass for this purpose in England is 5s., or for poor people 2s. 6d. In most continental countries the price is a franc or 9d. Popular priests in towns have more Masses demanded of them than they can possibly say, and then they farm them out to country priests, through the agency, sometimes of a society, sometimes of a bookseller. Many priests make their livelihood by saying these Masses.

(⁴) This is illustrated by the present Roman Catholic priest at Norwich (Dr Duckett), as follows: 'To every good work there are two aspects, meritorious and satisfactory for sin. For instance, a person abstains from flesh meat on Friday. His abstinence is meritorious, because fasting is one of the good works recommended by Scripture and ordered by the Church. It is also an atonement, punishment, satisfaction for sin committed. But supposing the person who abstained had either never committed any sin or had already satisfied for it, the satisfactory part of that abstinence would be superabundant, so far as that individual is concerned.' And again: 'The most innocent usually live the most penitential lives. They do more penance than is needed for the atonement of the sins which they themselves may have committed. Perhaps they never committed any. Their penances are not superfluous but superabundant. The Roman Catholic Church teaches that we are all members of Christ's body, and that the superabundant atonements of one member may be applied to other members.'—*Foreign Church Chronicle*, March 1899.

(⁵) It is only necessary to look into a Missal to see Offices in each of these stages of growth.

P A R T I I I

CHAPTER I

THE FAITH OF THE REFORMED ANGLICAN CHURCH

i. *The Articles*

THE paramount principle of the English Reformation was the resolve on the part of the Church to return to the primitive model, in faith altogether, in worship and religious institutions as far as was possible in the changed circumstances of the world. 'Our appeal,' says Bishop Andrewes, 'is to the Ancients, to the very furthest antiquity; the newer a thing is, the less we like it, the less new that it is, the more we are pleased by it' (*Tortura Torti*, p. 96). And the same sentiment is found in all the leading reformers and theologians of the Church. It might be thought with that end in view it would be sufficient to resume the symbols of the primitive Church, the three Catholic Creeds, and ignore all that had come between in the Middle Ages, including the summary of mediæval doctrine, the Creed of Pope Pius IV. But experience shows that such a course as this is not possible with any hope of success. In the physical body, when once an ill-humour has set in, it becomes necessary to expel the ill-humour before the health of the body can be regained; and whenever truths have been corrupted it is equally necessary, formally and con-

sciously, to reject their corruptions before men can enter into the enjoyment of the truths as they were before they were corrupted. The Church of England therefore found is necessary to face the mediæval system and to reject all its novel tenets by name, and to cast up a barrier against them lest they should return or lest men should again unconsciously slide into them. Then and only then, thus protected and safeguarded, the pure faith could be professed and taught and believed without danger from outward aggression or inward declension or recurrence to old corruptions. This work of defence, sometimes in the form of attack, the Church performed in her XXXIX. Articles. To repel assaults that had been made upon the truth was their primary purpose, and while this purpose was being most satisfactorily carried out, the opportunity was taken of making also a positive declaration of the primitive faith, and of rejecting some errors of more modern days which had grown up since the Middle Ages and were of a different nature from that of the mediæval superstitions.

Archbishop Laud in his Conference with Fisher characterises the XXXIX. Articles as follows, and designates them as 'our Confession':—

'In the Reformation our princes had their parts and the clergy theirs, and to these two principally the power and direction for reformation belonged. That our princes had their parts is manifest by their calling together of the bishops and other of the clergy to consider of that which might see worthy reformation. And the clergy did their part, for, being thus called together by royal power, they met in the National Synod of 1562, and the Articles there

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church §•

agreed on were afterwards confirmed by Acts of State and the royal assent. In this Synod the positive truths which are delivered are more than the polemics, so that a mere calumny it is that we profess only a negative religion. True it is, and we must thank Rome for it, our Confession must needs contain some negatives, for we cannot but deny that images are to be adored, nor can we admit maimed sacraments, nor grant prayers in an unknown tongue ; and in a corrupt time or place it is as necessary for a religion to deny falsehood as to assert and vindicate truth. Indeed, this latter can hardly be well and sufficiently done but by the former, an affirmative verity being ever included in the negative to a falsehood' (§ 24). (1)

I will take the points at issue between the XXXIX. Articles and Pope Pius's Creed, but I will now follow the order not of the Papal Creed but of the Articles.

The first five Articles are a reproduction of the Catholic faith as contained in the three Creeds, expressed in remarkably clear and well-chosen words, and the eighth Article adopts those Creeds, that is, the Primitive Faith, as the Church's faith. But, as we have seen, this was not all that was necessary, and therefore the Church proceeded to reject the corruptions introduced into that faith, just as the Council of Nicæa rejected Arianism, and the Council of Constantinople Macedonianism, and the Council of Ephesus Nestorianism, and the Council of Chalcedon Eutychianism. (2)

The first mediævalism rejected is that of putting oral traditions, visions, revelations and Papal authority (*see* above No. 10 of the articles of Pope Pius's Creed) on a

level with Holy Scripture as co-ordinate sources of truth. 'Holy Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation.' By one blow a mass of mediæval and modern superstition was struck off from the Church's faith, and at the same time she recurred to a principle universally held in the Primitive Church, which was her model. For the authority and sufficiency of Scripture is taught without hesitation by Irenæus (as quoted above, *Adv. Hær.* iii. 1), by Tertullian (*De carne Christi*, vi., and *Adv. Hermog.* xxii.), by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vii. 16 and v. 1), by Origen (*Hom. in Exod.* xiii. 2, and *in Levit.* v. 9), by Cyprian (*Ep. ad Pompeium*, Ep. 74, and *Ep. ad Cornelium*, Ep. 63), by Athanasius (*Contr. Apol.* i. 8, 9, and *Orat. contr. Gentes* i.), by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* 4), by Basil (*Serm. de Fide*, i., and *Mor. Reg.* lxxii. 1), by Gregory of Nyssa (*De. Anim. et Resur.*), by Ambrose (In *Psal.* cxviii., and *De Fide*, i. 6), by Theophilus (*Epist. Pasch.*), by Augustine (In *Ep. Johan. Tract.* 2, and *Enarr. in Psal.* 57), by Chrysostom (*Expos. in Psal.* v., and *Hom. in Coloss.* 9), by Cyril of Alexandria (*De recta fide ad Reg.* ii.), by Vincentius Lirinensis (*Common.* 2, 3, 29), by Leo (*Ep. ad Flavian.*), by Gregory I. (*Mor. in Job* xviii. 26). In other words it is the teaching of the first six centuries of the Church's life.

Lest any misunderstanding should arise, the Church explains that what she means by the sufficiency of Holy Scripture for salvation is that 'whatsoever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the Faith or be thought requisite or necessary for salvation.' The clause 'nor may be proved thereby' admits such doctrines as the

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church 50

Trinity, which may be proved from Scripture though not in so many words expressed therein, and the clause 'as an article of the faith or thought necessary for salvation' allows the belief of opinions other than those proved by Scripture, but does not permit them to be regarded as dogmas of the Church. Hooker writes:—

'When the question is whether we be now to seek for any revealed law of God otherwhere than only in the sacred Scripture; whether we do now stand bound in the sight of God to yield to traditions urged by the Church of Rome the same obedience and reverence we do to His written law, honouring equally and adoring both as divine—our answer is, No. . . . What hazards the truth is in when it passeth through the hand of report, how maimed and deformed it becometh, they are not, they cannot be ignorant' (*Eccl. Pol.* i. 13, 2)

'They are induced either to look for new revelations from heaven, or else dangerously to add to the word of God uncertain traditions, that so the doctrine of man's salvation may be complete, which doctrine we constantly hold in all respects, without any such thing added, to be so complete that we utterly refuse so much as even to acquaint ourselves with anything further. Whatsoever, to make up the doctrine of man's salvation, is added, as in supply of the Scripture's insufficiency, we reject it. Scripture, purposing this, hath perfectly and fully done it.

'Two opinions there are concerning the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, each extremely opposite unto the other and both repugnant unto truth. The schools of Rome teach Scripture to be so insufficient, as if, except traditions were

added, it did not contain all revealed and supernatural truth which absolutely is necessary for the children of men in this life to know, that they may in the next be saved' (*Ibid.* ii. 8, 5, 6).

The Article goes on to reject the canon of Scripture, sanctioned by the Church of Rome, allowing, with St Jerome, the Apocrypha to be read for edification but not as possessing authority on doctrine. 'Till some few men,' says Bishop Cosin, 'of the Latin Church only, met lately together at Trent, the new canon, in such terms as they have devised it, was never heard of' (*Canon of Scripture*, iv.).

'Adhering to the ancient Catholic faith and doctrine of the Church, we cannot admit or approve any such new decree as it has lately pleased the Masters of the Council of Trent to make; who have not only obtruded these books (the Apocrypha) upon their own people, to be received as true and authentical parts of the Ancient Testament, but have likewise damned all the world besides, that will not recede from the universal conclusion of the Christian Church' (*Ibid.* xix.).

2. The eleventh Article of the Church repudiates the mediæval theory of Justification, declaring that 'we are not accounted righteous before God for our own works or deservings,' but 'only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith.' This is a republication of St Paul's great doctrine of Justification in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. It is ordinarily called Justification by faith, which is St Paul's own name for it, but it is more exactly designated Justification by Christ's merits apprehended by

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church 50

faith. Using St Paul's shortened form of expression, the Article continues : 'That we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine and very full of comfort.' But for a full explanation of the term it refers to the Homily of 'Salvation of mankind by only Christ our Saviour from sin and death everlasting,' and this Homily not only puts us on our guard against the coarser form of mediæval error which confused Justification and Sanctification and made Sanctification the cause of Justification instead of a consequent upon it, but also it warns us against a more subtle form of error which represents us as justified for the merit of our personal faith instead of for the merit of Christ, which is the object of our faith. For when we are said to be justified by faith only, it is not meant, says the Homily, 'that this our own act to believe in Christ, or this our faith in Christ which is within us, doth justify us and deserve our justification to us, for that were to count ourselves to be justified by some act or virtue that is within ourselves,' nor 'that the said justifying faith is alone in man without true repentance, hope, charity, the dread and fear of God at any time or season,' but the purport of the expression is 'to take away clearly all merit of our works, as being unable to deserve our justification at God's hands,' 'Christ Himself only being the meritorious cause thereof.'

No theologian states the difference in the doctrine of the two Churches better than Hooker, who writes as follows in his 'Discourse of Justification, Works, and how the foundation of faith is overthrown':—

'Wherein do we disagree? We disagree about the nature of the very essence of the medicine whereby Christ

cureth our disease. When they are required to show what righteousness is whereby a Christian man is justified, they answer that it is a divine spiritual quality, which quality received into the soul doth first make it to be one of them that are born of God, and secondly endue it with power to bring forth such works as they do that are born of Him; that it maketh the soul gracious and amiable in the sight of God, in regard whereof it is termed grace; that it purgeth, purifieth, washeth out all the stains and pollution of sins; that by it through the merit of Christ we are delivered, as from sin, so from eternal death, the reward of sin. This grace they will have to be applied *by infusion*, to the end that as the body is warm by the heat which is in the body, so the soul might be righteous *by inherent graces*; which graces they make capable of increase, the augmentation whereof is merited by good works, as good works are made meritorious by it. . . . As grace may be increased by the merit of good works, so it may be diminished by the demerit of sins venial; it may be lost by mortal sin. . . . If they work more and more, grace doth more and more increase, and they are more and more justified. To such as have diminished it by venial sin, it is applied by holy water, *Ave Marias*, crossings, Papal salutations and such-like, which serve for reparation of grace decayed. To such as have lost it through mortal sin, it is applied by the Sacrament (as they term it) of Penance. This is the mystery of the man of sin. This maze the Church of Rome doth cause her followers to tread, when they ask her the way of Justification. They make the essence of it a *divine quality inherent*; they make it righteousness which is

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church

in us. If it be *in us*, then is it ours, as our souls are ours, though we have them from God. But the righteousness wherein we must be found, if we will be justified, is *not our own*; therefore we cannot be justified by any *inherent quality*. Christ hath merited righteousness for as many as are found in him. . . . You see, therefore, that the Church of Rome in teaching Justification by *inherent grace*, doth pervert the truth of Christ, and that by the hands of His Apostles we have received otherwise than she teacheth' (*Serm. ii. 5, 6*).

Hooker points out with great clearness and decision the difference between the grace of Justification and of Sanctification, the latter of which is inherent and admits of increase and diminution, the grace of Justification being 'perfect but not inherent,' that of Sanctification 'inherent but not perfect' (*Ibid. 3*), 'the one without us, which we have by imputation, the other in us, which consisteth of faith, hope, and charity, and other Christian virtues' (*Ibid. 21*). God gives us 'the one by accepting us for righteous in Christ; the other by making Christian righteousness in us' (*Ibid.*). 'Then what is the fault of the Church of Rome? Not that she requireth works at their hands that will be saved; but that she attributes unto works a power of satisfying God for sin, and a virtue to merit both grace here, and in heaven glory. . . . If it were not a strong deluding spirit which hath possession of their hearts, were it possible, but that they should see how plainly they do herein gainsay the very ground of Apostolic faith?' (*Ibid. 32, 34*).

In connection with the doctrine of Justification, the

Church also rejects in Article XIII. the 'school-authors' doctrine of grace of Congruity. This doctrine was one of the pivots of Luther's reformation in Germany. 'For they say,' exclaimed Luther, 'that a good work done before grace avails to procure grace by congruity. And when you have got the grace, a work following subsequently deserves eternal life by condignity. For example, if a man in mortal sin, without grace, does a good work of a good natural disposition, such as reading or hearing a Mass, giving alms, etc., he merits grace from what is congruous, and having in this way gained grace from what is congruous, he now does a work of condignity, which is meritorious of eternal life. In the first case God is not bound to give grace, but because He is kind and just, it becomes Him to give His approbation to such a work, although it be done in mortal sin, and to bestow grace in return for such an act of duty. But after the grace has been received, God is now bound and obliged of right to bestow eternal life' (Works v. 306). If this be so, cried Luther, I have no need of Christ; I can save myself! It is 'the theology of the kingdom of Antichrist!'

The English reformers, with equal firmness, if with calmer language, rejected the scholastic supposition. 'The great object of the Articles which have been considered' (Articles X.-XIII.), says Archbishop Laurence, 'was by no means what many have conjectured it to be; it was not to exalt Calvinistical speculation, but to lower scholastical presumption, by opposing the dangerous delusion of preparatory works. For while the philosophical papist boasted of challenging the approbation of Heaven by the arrogant display of moral virtue, and the superstitious one by the scrupulous discharge

of external observances (merit in either case considered abstractedly, and in contempt of the Christian sacrifice for sin), by the principle contained in these, the more humble Protestant was instructed to solicit so valuable a blessing, as a gift procured for him by the sufferings and death of his Redeemer ; to place in human dignity (worth) no groundless foundation of hope ; but persuaded that even his best performances cannot on their own account prove acceptable to Almighty God, because replete with failings, to renounce every meritorious claim and receive with gratitude that gracious redemption, which, undiscoverable by reason, the sacred page of Revelation alone discloses' (*Serm. v.*).

In Article XXII. the Church condemns six of the mediæval dogmas on the ground of their being inventions of men and not revelations of God, namely Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration of Images and Relics and Invocation of Saints.

3. We have traced the growth of a conjecture of Origen's, which led, however illogically, to the suggestion of a Purgatory by Gregory I. in the seventh century, and the extension of Gregory's imagination till by the help of Indulgences, united with it in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it permeated the Western Church, and was momentarily, though not permanently, forced upon the Eastern Church at the so-called Council of Florence in 1439. It was repudiated by the Church in the sixteenth century on the ground of 'having no warranty of Scripture,' which we have seen that the Primitive Church regarded as a sufficient reason for rejecting any doctrine, 'but rather repugnant to the Word of God.' The warranty

of Scripture claimed for it is found in 1 Cor. iii., because the singular expression, 'saved, but so as by fire,' occurs in it. It only needs a short exposition to show that while repugnant to other parts of Scripture, it derives no support from this passage. St Paul is here referring to the presbyters or teachers of the Corinthian Church (for whom he took himself and Apollos as representatives in order not to give offence) and he says that he and they are labourers and builders, while the main body of the believers were God's tillage and God's building (verse 9). Then confining himself to the first class—the ministers of God—he says that he has himself laid the foundation stone, Jesus Christ, and that others are building upon it: but he bids them beware what they build. Is it gold, silver, precious stones, that is, good doctrine which will bear to be tested, as gold and silver are tested, by fire? or is it hay, wood, stubble, that is, superstitions and unfounded opinions which will not bear the test of fire? If the former the builder will be rewarded, if the latter, he will suffer loss, yet, seeing that he has preserved the foundation intact, he will still 'be saved, but so as by fire'; that is, in all probability, that he will be forgiven and saved, but the straw-like superstructure of doctrine which he has built upon the true foundation will be destroyed and come to naught. But whatever the words may mean, we may say with an assurance amounting to certainty that they do not refer to any purgatorial fire, for it is the work, the bad work, that is burnt, not the man who builds it, and it is of builders only, that is, of God's ministers, not of the mass of the faithful, that the Apostle speaks. It is demonstrable that the 'wood, hay, stubble,'

which are to be burnt, do not represent men tortured in a supposed Purgatory for their sins or defective penances, but ministerial work and teaching, which will not bear testing and will therefore perish. Nor is there any other passage in Scripture which has any bearing on Purgatory, the existence of which had not been imagined till long after the canon of Scripture was closed. On the other hand, it is 'repugnant to the Word of God' because not accordant with the full and free pardon promised to the sinner on his repentance without any reserve as to sufferings still to be undergone as a satisfaction to God's justice in this world or the next. 'If such a Purgatory as the supposition of the Church of Rome hath pointed out to the vulgar were to receive thee, well mightest thou be not only unwilling but also horribly afraid to die. But, God be thanked, Christ and His Apostles and the disciples of the Apostles have taught us much better things. Wherefore let us comfort one another with these words' (Bishop Bull, *Serm. iii.*).

The mischief of the doctrine of Purgatory was not so great until it was united with the doctrines of the Sacrifice of the Mass and Indulgences. In union with the first it led people to obtain, and presently to purchase, of priests Masses to get themselves or their friends out of torture. Very quickly this became the popular form of their Christianity, appealing as it did to the senses and affections; and the system was carried so far that rich men left by their wills large sums of money to buy Masses like Philip IV. of Spain, or to build and endow Chantries where priests might deliver them from suffering by prayers and sacrifices.

4. Indulgences or Pardons in like manner aggravated the evils of Purgatory, being another supposed means of shortening or ending its torments by the will of the Pope, which might or might not be exerted in the sufferer's favour. The Church of England was contented with rejecting both one and the other doctrine as unscriptural. Her theologians have proved them to be also unprimitive and productive of evil life. Hooker writes :—

‘They imagine, beyond all conceit (belief) of Antiquity, that when God doth remit sin and the punishment *eternal* thereunto belonging, He reserveth the torment of hell fire’ (the fire of Purgatory being equal in intensity to hell fire) ‘to be nevertheless endured *for a time*, either shorter or longer according to the quality of the man's crime. Yet so that there is between God and man a certain composition, as it were, or contract by virtue whereof work assigned by the priest to be done after absolution shall *satisfy* God as touching the punishment which He otherwise would inflict for sin, pardoned and forgiven. . . . If a penitent depart this life, the debt of satisfaction being either in whole or in part undischarged, they steadfastly hold that the soul must remain in unspeakable torments till all be paid. . . . So that by this postern gate cometh in the whole mart of Papal Indulgences, a gain inestimable to him, to others a spoil; a scorn both to God and man. . . . Such facility they have to convert a pretended sacrament into a true revenue’ (*Eccl. Pol.* vi. 9).

Again :—

‘A strange and a strong delusion it is wherewith the man of sin hath bewitched the world; a forcible spirit of error it

must needs be which hath brought men to such a senseless and unreasonable persuasion as this is, not only that men clothed with mortality and sin, as we ourselves are, can do God so much service as shall be able to make a full and perfect satisfaction before the tribunal seat of God for their own sins, yea, a great deal more than is sufficient for themselves; but also that a man, at the hands of a bishop or a pope, for such and such a price, may buy the overplus of other men's merits, purchase the fruits of other men's labour, and build his soul by another man's faith. Is not this man drowned in the gall of bitterness?' (*Serm. vi. 21*).

Bishop Andrewes:—

'The Pope with his Indulgences has landed many of you in hell, while duping you with the hope of only getting to Purgatory. Perhaps if they had had only the fear of hell (and they would have had if they had not been deluded by that hope), they might have escaped hell' (*Responsio ad Bellarminum*, p. 222).

'Unless a man has done all that God commands him and has paid the whole debt (and who has ever done that, or can do it, when the Apostles themselves pray daily that their trespasses may be forgiven?), he is superarrogant when he dreams of supererogation' (*Ibid.* p. 268).

Archbishop Laud:—

'Alphonsus à Castro deals honestly and plainly and tells us that the mention of Purgatory in ancient writers is almost none at all, especially in the Greeks, and he adds that hereupon Purgatory is not believed by the Grecians to this very day' (*Conference with Fisher*).

Bishop Cosin :—

‘Of bringing souls out of Purgatory or relieving them in their pains there the Liturgies say nothing at all, for they know of no such matter, neither did the Church of old teach the people to believe it’ (*Note on the Holy Communion Office*).

5. Worshipping of images is curtly condemned in the Articles as being unscriptural ; but in the Homilies the Church enters more at length into the question and shows not only that the adoration of images is contrary to God’s Word but also to the practice of the Primitive Church, as witnessed by Tertullian, Origen, Athanasius, Lactantius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Ambrose, Augustine and Serenus of Marseilles. The Homily attributes the introduction of the custom to the ignorance resulting from the irruption of the barbarians, which we have already seen to have been the occasion of Transubstantiation and the Confessional.

‘The Goths, Vandals, Huns and other barbarous and wicked nations burst into Italy and all parts of the West countries of Europe with huge and mighty armies, spoiled all places, destroyed cities, and burned libraries, so that learning and true religion went to wrack and decayed incredibly. And so the bishops of those latter days being of less learning, and in the midst of the wars, taking less heed also than did the bishops afore, by ignorance of God’s Word and negligence of bishops, and specially barbarous princes, not rightly instructed in true religion, bearing the rule, images came into the Church of Christ in the said West parts where these barbarous people ruled, not now in painted cloths only but embossed in stone, timber, metal,

and other like matter, and were not only set up but began to be worshipped also. And therefore Serenus, Bishop of Massile, the head town of Gallia Narbonensis (now called the Province), a godly and learned man, who was about six hundred years after our Saviour Christ, seeing the people, by occasion of images, fall to most abominable idolatry, brake to pieces all the images of Christ and saints, which were in that city ; and was therefore complained upon to Gregory, the first of that name, Bishop of Rome, who was the first learned bishop that did allow the open having of images in churches that can be known by any writing or history of antiquity. And upon this Gregory do all image worshippers at this day ground their defence. But as all things that be amiss have from a tolerable beginning grown worse and worse till they at the last became intolerable, so did this matter of images. First men used privately stories painted in tables, cloths and walls. Afterwards gross and embossed images privately in their own houses. Then afterwards pictures first and after them embossed images began to creep into churches, learned and godly men ever speaking against them. Then by use it was openly maintained that they might be in churches, but yet forbidden that they should be worshipped ; of which opinion was Gregory. . . . But of Gregory's opinion, thinking that images might be suffered in churches, so it were taught that they should not be worshipped ; what ruin of religion and what mischief ensued afterwards to all Christendom, experience hath to our great hurt and sorrow proved' (*Second Part of the Homily against Peril of Idolatry*).

Having recounted the iconoclastic controversy, the Homily turns to argument. The examples of Hezekiah and Josiah are quoted, and an indignant exclamation is introduced.

‘What a fond thing is it for man who hath life and reason to bow himself to a dead and unsensible image, the work of his own hand ! Is not this stooping and kneeling before them, adoration of them, which is forbidden so earnestly by God’s Word ? Let such as so fall down before images of saints, know and confess that they exhibit that honour to dead stocks and stones which the saints themselves, Peter, Paul, and Barnabas, would not to be given them being alive, which the angel of God forbiddeth to be given to him !’ (*Ibid.*).

6. The worship of relics is condemned in the same Homily.

‘But in this they pass the folly and wickedness of the Gentiles, that they honour and worship the relics and bones of our saints, which prove that they be mortal men and dead and therefore no gods to be worshipped ; which the Gentiles would never confess of their gods for very shame. But the relics we must kiss and offer unto, specially on relic Sunday. And while we offer, that we should not be weary or repent us of our cost, the music and minstrelsy goeth merrily all the offertory time, with praising and calling upon those saints whose relics be there in presence. Yea, and the water also, wherein those relics have been dipped, must with great reverence be reserved as very holy and effectual. Is this agreeable to St Chrysostom, who writeth thus of relics ?—“ Do not regard the ashes of the saints’ bodies nor the relics of their flesh and bones, con-

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church

sumed with time; but open the eyes of thy faith, and behold them clothed with heavenly virtue and the grace of the Holy Spirit and shining with the brightness of the heavenly light." But our idolaters found too much vantage of relics and relic water, to follow St Chrysostom's counsel. And because relics were so gainful, few places were there but they had relics provided for them. . . . Now God be merciful to such miserable and silly Christians who by the fraud and falsehood of those which should have taught them the way of truth and life, have been made not only more wicked than the Gentile idolaters, but also no wiser than apes, horses, and mules, which have no understanding' (*Ibid.*).

7. The evil of saint worship from a moral point of view, which forms one ground for its rejection by the Church of England, is thus stated by Bishop Andrewes:—

“ ‘Come to Me,’ says the Saviour—that is, according to Cardinal Bellarmine, ‘Stay where you are and send some go-between to Me; that is all that is wanted, though you don’t come yourselves.’ So ‘come’ means ‘Don’t come, let others come.’ You draw nigh to the saints when you pray to them, the saints draw nigh to Christ, and Christ to God. This would be quite right if Christ had said, ‘Go to the saints; let them come in your place; don’t yourselves come to Me; it is just the same whether you come yourselves or the saints come for you.’ But now as He has said, ‘Come to Me; come all of you and I will refresh you’ (by Myself surely, not by My ministers), why do we not go straight to Him without a go-between, and ask Him, but turn off to them and ask of them that they would

be good enough to ask? Are there any of the saintly spirits with whom we can converse with greater security and joy than with our Jesus? Is access to them easier? Have they more indulgent moments for speaking? Do the saints know more of our needs? Are their bowels of mercy more enlarged than Christ's? Is their goodwill towards us greater than His, so that our confidence should be greater when we are with them? Should any grace of theirs be more precious to us than Christ's promise, "I will refresh you"? Should any nearness to them be dearer to us than Christ's instruction, "Come to Me"? When you thus invoke the saints, you give them Christ's place; if you go to them, you put them in the place of Christ, for *them* to refresh you instead of Him. You take them as mediators with God, to obtain His pardon for you by their prayers. Paul and John never made themselves *that*, and had they done so, faithful Christians would not have endured it, as St Augustine' (*Contra. Parmen.* ii. 8, 15) teaches' (*Resp. ad Bell.* p. 242).

8. The mediæval number of Seven Sacraments was rejected in Article XXV. Christ ordained but two Sacraments in the Gospel, and therefore Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony and Extreme Unction 'have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper.'

Confirmation and Holy Orders may well be called sacramental rites, as they differ from the sacraments of the Gospel only in not having had 'any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.' But, as we shall see, the Church found it necessary to introduce changes in the form of their administration to recover the early conception of them.

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church §

Matrimony is essentially a civil contract, to which a sacred and typical (which may in a sense be called sacramental) character has been attached by Christianity, which has dwelt from St Paul downwards on the similarity existing between the relations of the husband and wife, and of Christ and the Church. Like Holy Orders, it produces 'a state of life allowed in the Scripture.'

unction is a rite by means of which sick persons were restored to health during the time that the extraordinary or miraculous gifts of the Spirit prevailed, and it was afterwards changed into an ecclesiastical ceremony of anointing people under the idea that their souls, if not their bodies, would thereby be benefited. As an ecclesiastical ceremony, it grew up from 'a corrupt following of the Apostles,' which was the more observable as a corruption when it became confined to the death-bed.

Penance is the name of a complex rite consisting of attrition, confession and satisfaction on the part of a penitent confessing his sins to a priest, and of absolution or conveyance of pardon on the part of the priest, which grew up in the Middle Ages, and was made obligatory in 1215. It is a corruption of the primitive discipline of penitence, and arose out of a misunderstanding both of the nature of repentance and of the divine forgiveness of sin, and of the real character of the authority possessed by the clergy of the Christian Church, and also of a text of Scripture (John xx. 23). Hooker devotes almost the whole of the sixth book of the Ecclesiastical Polity to elucidating the true character of penitence, showing the evils of the so-called Sacrament of Penance, which the Church repudiates, and

distinguishing between the Anglican and mediæval teaching on the subject.

'That extreme and rigorous necessity of auricular and private confession which is at this day so mightily upheld by the Church of Rome, we find not (in the Fathers). It was not then the faith and doctrine of God's Church as of the Papacy at present; (1) that the only remedy for sin after baptism is sacramental penitence: (2) that confession in secret is an essential part thereof; (3) that God Himself cannot now forgive sin without the priest; (4) that because forgiveness at the hands of the priest must arise from confession in the offenders, therefore to confess unto him is a matter of such necessity as, being not in deed, or at least in desire performed, excludeth utterly from all pardon, and *must* consequently be in Scripture commanded, whensoever any promise of forgiveness is made. No, no! These opinions have youth in their countenance; antiquity knew them not; it never thought or dreamed of them' (*Eccles. Pol.* vi. 13).

'We stand chiefly upon the true inward conversion of the heart; they more upon works of external show. We teach, above all things, *that* repentance which is one and the same from the beginning to the world's end; they a sacramental penance of their own devising and shaping. We labour to instruct men in such sort, that every soul which is wounded with sin may learn the way how to cure itself; they, clean contrary, would make all sores incurable, unless the priest have a hand in them' (*Ibid.* 6).

'What is then the force of absolution? What is it that the act of absolution worketh in a sinful man? Doth it by

any operation derived from itself alter the state of the soul? Does it really take away sin, or but ascertain us of God's most gracious and merciful pardon? *The latter of which two is our assertion, the former theirs' (Ibid. 4).*

'The sentence therefore of ministerial absolution hath two effects; touching sin it only *declareth us* free from the guiltiness thereof, and restored unto God's favour; but concerning right in sacred and divine mysteries, whereof through sin we were made unworthy, as the power of the Church did before effectually bind and retain us from access unto them, so upon our apparent repentance it truly restoreth our liberty, looseth the chains wherewith we were tied, remitteth all whatsoever is past, and accepteth us no less returned, than if we had never gone astray. . . . It doth not permit that, in the use of power over voluntary converts, to bind or loose, remit or retain, should signify any other than only to pronounce of sinners according to that which may be gathered from outward signs; because really to effect the removal or continuance of sin in the soul of any offender is no priestly act, but a work which far exceedeth their ability' (Ibid. 5).

'The careless manner of their absolution hath made discipline for the most part among them a bare formality; yea, rather a means of emboldening unto vicious and wicked life than either any help to prevent future, or medicine to remedy present evils in the soul of man' (Ibid. 7).

9. Of Transubstantiation Article XXVIII. declares that—
(1) it 'cannot be proved by Holy Writ; (2) is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture; (3) overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and (4) hath given occasion to many superstitions.'

tions,' some of these superstitions being pointed out, namely, Reservation, Procession of the Host, Elevation, Adoration, Reception by the wicked. Having made this protestation against error, the Article proceeds to state the opposite truth. 'The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner. And the means whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith.' And again it says: 'The Supper of the Lord is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death; insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ, and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.' Hooker writes:—

'The bread and cup are His body and blood because they are *causes instrumental* upon receipt whereof *the participation* of His body and blood ensueth. The real Presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for in the sacrament' (*i.e.*, the elements) 'but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament. As for the sacraments, they really exhibit, but for ought we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor do they contain in themselves, that grace which with them or by them it pleaseth God to bestow' (*Eccles. Pol.* v. 67).

Archbishop Laud:—

'Transubstantiation was never heard of in the primitive Church, nor till the Council of Lateran (1215); nor can it be proved out of Scripture, and taken properly, cannot stand with the grounds of Christian religion' (*Conference* 33).

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church 50

Bishop Cosin :—

‘For the same purpose were the words in the Form of Consecration altered from *Fiat nobis corpus et sanguis Domini* to what they now are’ (Notes—genuine series).

Bishop Jeremy Taylor :—

‘What the Church of Rome teaches of Transubstantiation is absolutely impossible, and implies contradictions very many, to the belief of which no faith can oblige us and no reason can endure’ (*Dissuasive*, I. i.).

‘We may not render divine worship to Him as present in the blessed sacrament according to His human nature without danger of idolatry; because He is not there according to His human nature. . . . He is present there by His divine power, and His divine blessing, and the fruits of His body, the real effective consequents of His passion. But for any other presence, it is *idolum*, it is nothing in the world. Adore Christ in heaven, for the heavens must contain Him till the time of the restitution of all things’ (*Fifth Letter*).

‘And if you can believe the bread when it is blessed by the priest is Almighty God, you can, if you please, believe anything else. If it be transubstantiated, and you are sure of it, then you may pray to it and put your trust in it, and believe the holy bread to be co-eternal with the Father and with the Holy Ghost’ (*Ibid.*).

‘This Body, being carried from us into heaven, cannot be touched or tasted by us on earth; but yet Christ left to us symbols and sacraments of His natural Body; not to be or to convey that natural Body to us, but to do more and better for us—to convey all the blessings and

graces procured for us by the breaking of that Body and the effusion of that Blood' (*Worthy Communicant*, i. 3).

10. Article XXX. condemns the practice of the denial of the Cup, ordered by the Councils of Constance and Trent, on the ground of its being contrary to Christ's command when He instituted the Sacrament. With the practice it rejects Anselm's doctrine of Christ being received in His integrity in either element, on which the practice rests. Bishop Andrewes justifies the Church's action and assails the Roman position as follows:—

'On this point error begets error on error. Christ, says the Cardinal (Bellarmine), instituted the Eucharist, in so far as it is a sacrifice, in both elements; in so far as it is a sacrament, in either of the two. For the essence of a sacrifice, he says, both are required, neither can be absent; if one be absent the sacrifice is mutilated. For the essence of a sacrament, either of them is enough; whichever you please of the two is sufficient; either one or the other may be away, and yet the sacrament is not mutilated. This is magisterial enough, but it is the arbitrary dictum of the Cardinal. What Father says so? Where is the appeal to the first five hundred years?

'Under the species of bread, says the Cardinal, the sacrament is entire; under the species of wine the sacrament is also entire. And yet these two entire sacraments are *not* two entire sacraments but only one entire sacrament! Nay, more surprising still, under the species of bread there is the sacrament, and under the species of wine there is the sacrament, and yet they are *not* two sacraments, and nevertheless they *are* two sacraments!

They are not two but one, if haste is used—if a man takes them together at one time; they are not one but two if there is delay—if a man takes them at two separate times, or if two people take them at one time. When they are taken together they are two parts of one whole; neither of them is itself a whole. When they are taken separately, they are two wholes, neither of them is a part—and so a part is equal to the whole! He receives as much who takes either element by itself as he who takes both at the same time! Who can understand this? “One not one,” “two not two,” “two wholes taken together are not two,” “two are one if taken together,” “two are not two unless taken separately!” Why should the sacrament be so much affected by time when it is not affected by place?

‘Then I have this inquiry to make: Why on the theory that the blood is always with the body and the body with the blood, should the *sacrifice* be regarded as mutilated unless both kinds are present, and the *sacrament* not? What becomes of the Cardinal’s doctrine of Concomitance? In the sacrifice he rejects it, let him therefore reject it in the sacrament. “*There*,” he says, “either one of the two is sufficient,” just as if Concomitance was kept at the door while the Cardinal was offering the sacrifice, and called in as soon as it had been finished. How can these things hold together?

‘But if the sacrament is “perfect,” as you say, under the species of bread, why is the priest, when he comes to take the sacrament, not contented with that which is perfect? Why should he take more than that which is already perfect? Why should not that be perfect for him which is

perfect for the people? Or why should he not be contented himself with what he desires them to be contented with?

'There is no analogy between this case and single or triple immersion. There is in Baptism but one act of immersion; but there are two acts in the Eucharist of eating and drinking, and there are two subjects—bread and wine. Besides here there is a positive command; there there is none. Christ gave no command about the number of immersions in Baptism—whether one or three; but He did give a command about both kinds in the Eucharist. He gave an expressed command, a command expressly obligatory on all. He said "Drink;" He added, "all of you." If the Saviour had used the word "all" after "eat," it would have been a great help to the Cardinal's argument. But when Christ gives a command and uses the words of injunction, there is no room for the Church's legislation, but only in cases when, as in immersion, He leaves it undecided. For if He had said "Dip once only" or "Dip three times," I suppose the Church could not have changed the rule, nor would the Cardinal hold that it would have a right to. But He did say "Eat," and He said also "Drink," and in like manner; and He said "Do this" in regard both to one act and the other. By saying that Christ closed the question; nor has the Church the right of leaving open that which Christ has closed; nor of ordering that one kind only be received when Christ twice ordered both kinds; nor when Christ enjoined "Do this" in respect of both, expunging His words in respect to one, and forbidding men to "do it." We may act as we please where no command has been

given, but when He gives the command, "Drink," "Drink ye all," "Do this," it is no longer permissible or justifiable to disobey' (*Resp. ad Bell.* p. 251).

11. The Sacrifice of the Mass is condemned by the Church of England in sharper language than any other corruption of the Middle Ages, because it trenches on the truth of the perfection of the One Sin-offering made once for ever upon the Cross by Christ. 'The sacrifices of Masses' (in this expression the plural, Masses, is frequently used for the singular, Mass, but here it is probably employed in contrast to the one Sacrifice of the Cross), 'in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits' (Article XXXI.). These are strong words. Are they too strong? What is a fable? An idle story not founded on truth but on imagination. Can a theory which supposes that a man is capable of offering the Son of God to His Father in the form of a piece of bread and a portion of wine, and then causing the divine existence, which He had brought about by a form of words, to cease by eating the bread and drinking the wine, be anything else than a story or tenet founded not on truth but on imagination; and if to misrepresent God's character and derogate from His loving kindness towards man be to blaspheme Him, how can it be otherwise than blasphemous to teach that, in spite of the Sacrifice of the Cross, God's face is still so averted from His children adopted in Christ that He requires a sin-offering to be made afresh to Him every day to propitiate Him? The Latin equivalent for 'dangerous deceits' is

perniciosa imposturae—impostures because not instituted by Christ and yet pretending to be His institution; pernicious or dangerous because they lead men to trust for salvation to atonements continually made by man instead of to the one atonement once made by Christ.

Bishop Cosin writes:—

‘He sitteth at the right hand of God for ever. And therefore Christ can be no more offered as the doctors and priests of the Roman party fancy Him to be, and plainly think that every time they say Mass, they offer up and sacrifice Christ anew, as properly and truly as He offered up Himself in His sacrifice upon the Cross. And this is one of the points of doctrine, and the chief one, whereof the Popish Mass consisted, abrogated and reformed here by the Church of England according to the express Word of God. . . . Without shedding of blood and killing Him over again no proper sacrifice can be made of Him; which yet in their Masses the Roman priests pretend every day to do’ (*Notes on the Prayer-book—genuine series*).

‘A true, real, proper and propitiatory sacrificing of Christ every time the sacrament is celebrated, which is the Popish doctrine and which cannot be done without killing of Christ so often again, we hold not; believing it to be a false and blasphemous doctrine; founding ourselves upon the Apostles’ doctrine that Christ was sacrificed but once and that He dieth no more’ (*Ibid.*).

‘The word Mass is nowhere found among the ancients in the same sense in which it is now used among papists for the true and proper sacrifice of Christ offered (*toties quoties*) to God the Father for the living and the dead.

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church 50

And therefore the very word Mass (in its new not in its old sense) is rejected by the Anglican Church, which went about to extirpate that vicious opinion about the Sacrifice of the Mass' (*Ibid.*).

Ridley :—

‘The Mass is a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice, to satisfy and pay the price of sins, both of the dead and of the quick, to the great and intolerable contumely of Christ our Saviour, His death and passion, which was and is the only sufficient and everlasting and available sacrifice, satisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam the first to the last that shall be born to the end of the world’ (*Piteous Lamentation*).

‘Christ’s blessed body and blood, which was once only offered and shed upon the Cross, is offered up no more in the natural substance thereof, neither by the priest nor any other thing’ (*Brief declaration of the Lord’s Supper*).

Cranmer :—

‘The greatest blasphemy and injury that can be against Christ, and yet universally used through the Popish kingdom, is this: that the priests make their Mass a service propitiatory, to remit the sins as well of themselves as of others, both quick and dead, to whom they list to apply the same. Then, under pretence of holiness, the papistical priests have taken upon them to be Christ’s successors, and to make such an oblation and sacrifice as never creature made, but Christ alone, neither He made the same any more times than once, and that was by His death upon the Cross’ (*Defence of the true and Catholic doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and blood of our Saviour Christ*).

12. With regard to the Pope's authority the Church of England is satisfied in her Articles to fight her own battles, saying only that 'the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England' (Article XXXVII.). By this declaration she claims the freedom from Roman control, which was enjoyed absolutely by the British Church and in all essentials by the Anglo-Saxon Church, and rejects the Papal usurpation brought in at the Conquest, recognised in part by Lanfranc, Anselm and Becket, culminating in the reign of John and Henry III., almost shaken off in the reign of Richard II., fastened on the realm again by the usurping house of Lancaster, and finally cast off in the reign of Henry VIII. How uneasily the yoke of Rome was borne at any time in England is shown by Archbishop Bramhall in his 'Just Vindication of the Church of England,' and is made evident by the Constitutions of Clarendon, A.D. 1164, the Statute of Carlisle 1297, the Statutes of Provisors 1350, 1363, 1389, and the Statutes of Mortmain and *Præmunire* 1391; all of which led up to the Statutes of the reign of Henry VIII. between 1531 and 1543. Archbishop Wake states the case of the rejection of Papal authority by the Church of England in his letter to Dupin of October 1, 1718.

'This (the striking off the Papal yoke) was the first step towards the true, just and necessary reformation of our Church. The things that be Cæsar's we gave back to Cæsar, the things that be God's to God. To the Imperial Crown of our realm was restored its supremacy; to the Episcopate its rights and dignity; to the Church its liberty by Henry VIII., who if for nothing else should be named

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church ~~so~~

with honour for that. All these things had been trampled beneath his feet by our then enemy who is now yours (the Gallican Church's). The Papal authority had very often been confined within certain limits by our laws—laws which no one who now examined them would think it possible to break through. But our case was that of those who would bind the demoniac with fetters. Everything was tried in vain. The restraints of law were good for nothing against I know not what pretence of divine power subjected to no human conditions. At last the kingdom was wearied out, and the stern necessity of defending its own laws opened the eyes of all. The question was brought before the bishops and clergy of both provinces assembled in synod, whether according to the Holy Scriptures the Bishop of Rome has any more jurisdiction in the realm of England than any other foreign bishop. The votes of both Convocations agreed on the sound, just and true conclusion. The universities of the realm approved by their vote the decision which the bishops and clergy had come to, and the King and Parliament confirmed it. And so at last, in the only way that it could be done, a power was totally taken away which no laws, no regulations, civil or ecclesiastical, could ever keep within due bounds. . . . If there is any prerogative which the Councils of the Church have conceded to the Bishop of the Imperial See, although, as the empire has fallen, that prerogative may naturally be thought to have been lost, yet, so far as I am concerned, I have no objection to his enjoying his primacy, such as it is, provided we come to terms on other matters, so that the rights of the kingdom, the liberty of the Church and the

dignity of bishops be preserved. I do not grudge him the first place nor an idle title of honour. But to dominate over other Churches, to claim the Episcopate almost wholly to himself alone when Christ gave his part of it to every single bishop, so that all held it in common possession, to move heaven and earth for the destruction of anyone that resisted his unlawful tyranny—these are things which we could never bear and which you' (Gallicans) 'ought not to endure' (Mosheim, *Eccl. Hist.* App. iii.).

'By God's law,' says Bishop Bilson, 'the Pope of Rome hath no such jurisdiction; for six hundred years after Christ he had none. . . . Above or against the Prince he can have none; to the subversion of the faith, or oppression of his brethren he ought to have none; therefore this land oweth him none' (*True difference between Christian subjection and unchristian rebellion*).

The oath taken till of late by all bishops, priests and deacons, and by all who took their degrees at the universities runs: 'I do declare that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this realm. So help me God!'

NOTES

(¹) Similarly Bishop Andrewes: 'Look at our religion in Britain—primitive, pure, purified, such as Zion would acknowledge. What, must we descend into the plain to teach that nowhere does there exist a religion more in accord with the true Zion, that is, with the institutions of the Gospel and of the Apostles? Look at our Confession contained in the XXXIX. Articles; look at our Catechism; it is short, but in spite of its shortness there is nothing wanting in it. Look at the

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church ~~so~~

Apology of our Church—truly a Jewel. Whoso will may find our doctrines there' (*Sermon before the Count Palatine*).

(2) It will be observed that the Church of England silently accepted the Western form of the Nicene Creed, which contains the words, 'And from the Son'; teaching that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as well as the Father. This clause was not rejected because it contains true doctrine, and the Church's immediate object was to reject only false doctrine. But the words have no right to a place in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, for they do not make part of the original Creed, but were interpolated first at Toledo by King Recared and Bishop Leander in the year 589. From Spain the innovation spread to France and was urged on Pope Leo III. by Charlemagne. But Leo decreed *ex cathedra* that the interpolation was inadmissible and must be excised, and he set up copies of the Creed in Greek and Latin in the Lateran Church to show that the original Creed was without them. But as soon as the innovation became popular through the West, Pope Benedict VIII., ignoring his predecessor's *ex cathedra* decision, ruled that it was to be admitted. The Eastern Church, by the voice of Photius in the year 857, protested against the innovation and has continued its protest ever since. The retention or the excision of the words is an open question which may at any time be considered and decided in a regularly constituted synod or council of the Anglican Church. If they should be removed it would not be on account of their teaching, for the doctrine that they teach is true, but on account of their irregular introduction into the Creed of an Ecumenical Council without Ecumenical authority (See *History of the Church in Spain*, chapter xi., Wells Gardner).

CHAPTER II

THE FAITH OF THE REFORMED ANGLICAN CHURCH

2. *The Prayer-book*

WITH the above twelve denials the Church of England, officially and by the mouth of her theologians, meets the twelve affirmations which Pius IV. put together as the summary of the mediæval faith. Secure under the lee of this breakwater, she is able to develop her positive doctrines, which are those of the Primitive Church before the Christian religion was corrupted by the ignorance brought in by the barbarians, by the natural tendency of religion in the lapse of ages to degenerate into superstition, by the ambition and craft of the Popes and the papal clergy who built up their authority by the means of the forgery of the False Decretals, the enforcement of the Confessional, the terrors of Purgatory, the hopes inspired by Absolutions and Indulgences and the various impostures which culminated in the tenet of their ability to sacrifice Jesus Christ on the altar. We have seen that the faith of the Primitive Church was that contained diffusively in Holy Scripture and summarised in the Apostles' Creed, which was enlarged but not altered by the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. We should expect therefore that the faith of the Anglican Church would be

found there likewise. And such is the case. The three Creeds are not only recognised by the Articles but they make part of the Morning and Evening Services and the Communion Office. For the faith of the reformed English Church is the faith of Holy Scripture and the primitive Creeds: as the unreformed faith, so far as it differs from hers, rests on human traditions, supposed modern revelations, and the Creed of Pope Pius IV.

‘Our savour,’ says Bishop Andrewes, ‘is of the Scripture alone, but everything with you is full of the fabricated opinions of men, out of which your faith is formed; so that what you cry up as a Rock is nothing but a heap of sand; they are only human opinions that you cling to as your Rock’ (*Resp. ad Bell.* p. 452).

‘There is no part of the Catholic Faith that we do not hold; those tenets of yours are patches on the faith, not parts of it’ (*Ibid.* p. 485).

‘We have no better definition of heresy than that which is contrary to the three old Creeds or any of the four old General Councils. Is not that to hate new opinions? We innovate in nothing. We restore perhaps what those of ancient time held, which you have innovated upon. If you retain anything that is old, you have so interpolated it, that not one of the ancients would recognise it if he came to life again’ (*Tortura Torti*, p. 96).

‘Wherever we have changed anything it has been done because in your ritual you had gone away from the pure and perfect worship of God and because it was not so from the beginning. . . . Whatever you have of the primitive religion remains untouched with us’ (*Ibid.* p. 375).

'We have for our rule of religion one Canon given us by God in writing, the two Testaments, the three Creeds, the first four Councils, five centuries, three before and two after Constantine, and the Fathers who lived in them. For those who are not satisfied with the old Catholic Faith without the new patches of Rome, those who are not contented unless by draining to the dregs they reach the abuses and errors, not to say fables and figments, which afterwards filled the Church, we leave them to their choice. . . . There is nothing there which has a savour of Zion—nothing at all—or of that primitive and true faith which was once delivered to the saints' (*Sermon before the Count Palatine*).

Coming to the particular articles of the Creed, we shall find them either directly taught or taken for granted and lying close beneath the surface in all parts of the Prayer-book and in every ceremony and rite that the Church has sanctioned. Take the Collects first. The doctrine of God the Father is found in every one of them ; His Almightiness in the Collect for the seventh Sunday after Trinity ; His creative Work in the Collect for all sorts and conditions of men ; the Sonship of Jesus Christ in the Collects for Christmas Day and the Circumcision ; His Lordship on Septuagesima Sunday ; His Incarnation on Christmas Day and the Annunciation ; His Suffering and Crucifixion on Good Friday ; His Death, Burial, Descent, and Resurrection on Easter Eve ; His Ascension and Session on the right hand on Ascension Day and St Stephen's Day ; the final Judgment of quick and dead on the first Sunday in Advent ; the Holy Ghost on the first Sunday after Ascension Day and Whitsunday ; the Holy Catholic Church in the Collect

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church §•

for all sorts and conditions of men, for St John the Evangelist's Day, Good Friday, St Mark's Day ; the Communion of Saints on All [Saints' Day ; the Forgiveness of Sins on the twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity ; the Resurrection of the body on Easter Eve ; the Life Everlasting on the first Sunday in Advent. So in the Morning and Evening and Occasional Prayers the doctrines of God the Father Almighty and Christ's Sonship and the Holy Ghost's grace are found in almost all the prayers ; God's creative work in the *Venite* ; the Sonship of Christ, His Incarnation, Suffering, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, Session and Judgment in the *Te Deum* ; the Holy Catholic Church in the Prayer for the clergy and people and the Ember Days' Collects ; the forgiveness of sins in the Absolution ; the Resurrection and Eternal Life in the *Te Deum*. In the Order of Holy Communion the doctrines of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, Birth, Passion, Death, Resurrection, Ascension of Christ, the universal Church and Communion of Saints, the Forgiveness of Sins and Everlasting Life are found. (1) In the Litany there are the doctrines of God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, Christ's Lordship, His Incarnation, Nativity, Passion, Crucifixion, Death, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension, the Holy Catholic Church, the Forgiveness of Sins, the Life Everlasting. In the shorter offices for special occasions we are not to expect every article of the Creeds, but in all of them we find the doctrine of the three Persons of the God-head ; in the Baptismal Offices, those of the Incarnation, Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ ; in the Solemnisation of Matrimony, that of the mystical nature of the

Scriptural and Catholic Truth

Church ; in the Visitation of the sick, that of Forgiveness of Sins ; in the Order for Burial of the Dead, those of the Resurrection and Eternal Life ; in the form of prayer to be used at sea, that of the Almighty of God. Nowhere do we find taught or implied any of the mediæval tenets summed up in the Creed of Pope Pius IV. There may be seen everywhere underlying the prayers and offices of the Prayer-book a recognition of the necessity and blessedness of repentance, faith, obedience, hope and love.

NOTE

(1) That the grace of the Holy Eucharist is not mentioned in the Early Church's Creeds, while that of Baptism is, teaches its own lesson.

CHAPTER III

THE FAITH OF THE REFORMED ANGLICAN CHURCH

3. *The Homilies*

THE Homilies do not stand on the same level of authority with the Prayer-book and the Articles. They were originally two volumes of sermons, issued, one in the reign of Edward VI., containing twelve sermons mainly written by Cranmer, the other in Elizabeth's reign, consisting of twenty-one sermons, chiefly contributed by Bishop Jewel. Both of them are recognised and sanctioned in Article XXXV. Like other sermons, they are for the most part exhortations to piety and godly life, and they only incidentally touch upon faith and worship. In their hortative character they deal with such subjects as Faith, Good Works, Charity, Hope, Purity, Quietness, Simplicity in food and dress, Prayer, Fasting, Almsgiving, Repentance, the duties of married persons, Diligence in our secular callings, Civil obedience. In respect to the objects of Faith, a Homily is given to the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection, the Ascension of Christ and the coming of the Holy Ghost. Subjects controversially dealt with are the Sufficiency of Holy Scripture, Justification, Idolatry, the seven Sacraments, the Holy Communion, Saint Worship, Purgatory, Penitence, the use of the Latin language in public prayer ;

and other disputed topics are incidentally touched upon. The clergy are authorised to read a Homily in place of preaching a sermon at their discretion. It is hardly possible for them now to do that, as forms of expression have so much altered since the Homilies were written ; but it is much to be wished that both clergy and laity were more familiar with the volume. The following are abridged extracts from it on the controverted subjects above mentioned. The force of the 'Exhortation to the reading of Holy Scripture' can only be appreciated rightly if we remember that it was only a few years previously that permission had been granted to read God's Word at all.

Holy Scripture. 'There is no truth nor doctrine necessary for our justification and everlasting salvation but that is, or may be, drawn out of that fountain and well of truth. Therefore let us reverently hear and read holy Scriptures, which is the food of the soul. For in holy Scripture is fully contained what we ought to do, and what to eschew, what to believe, what to love, and what to look for at God's hands at length. And as the great clerk and godly preacher, St John Chrysostom, saith, whatsoever is required to salvation of man is fully contained in the Scripture of God. These books therefore ought to be much in our hands, in our eyes, in our ears, in our mouths, but most of all in our hearts. And, moreover, the effect and virtue of God's Word is to illuminate the ignorant, and to give more light unto them that faithfully and diligently read it, to comfort their hearts and to encourage them to perform that which of God is commanded. It teacheth patience in adversity, in prosperity humbleness ; what

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church §

honour is due unto God, what mercy and charity to our neighbour. If we read once, twice, or thrice, and understand not, let us not cease so, but still continue reading, praying, asking of others, and so by still knocking at the last the door shall be opened' (Book I., Hom. I.).

Justification. 'This saying, that we are justified by faith only, freely, and without works, is spoken for to take away clearly all merit of our works, as being unable to deserve our Justification at God's hands, and thereby most plainly to express the weakness of man and the goodness of God, the great infirmity of ourselves and the might and power of God, the imperfectness of our own works, and the most abundant grace of our Saviour Christ, and therefore wholly to ascribe the merit and deserving of our Justification unto Christ only, and His most precious bloodshedding. This faith the holy Scripture teacheth us ; this is the strong rock and foundation of Christian religion ; this doctrine all old and ancient authors of Christ's Church do approve ; this doctrine advanceth and setteth forth the true glory of Christ, and beateth down the vain glory of man ; this whosoever denieth, is not to be accounted for a Christian man nor for a setter forth of Christ's glory, but for an adversary of Christ and His gospel, and for a setter forth of man's vain glory. . . . Justification is the office of God only, and is not a thing which we render unto Him but which we receive of Him ; not which we give to Him but which we take of Him by His free mercy and by the only merits of His most dearly beloved Son our Redeemer, Saviour and Justifier, Jesus Christ' (Hom. III.).

Image worship. 'True religion and pleasing of God

standeth not in making, setting up, painting, gilding, clothing, and decking of dumb and dead images, nor in kissing them, capping, kneeling, offering to them, incensing of them, setting up of candles, hanging up of legs, arms, or whole bodies of wax before them, or praying and asking of them, or of saints, things belonging only to God to give. . . . Let us honour and worship for religion's sake none but Him ; and Him let us worship and honour as He will Himself, and hath declared in His Word that He will, be honoured and worshipped, not in nor by images or idols, which He hath most straitly forbidden, neither in kneeling, lighting of candles, burning of incense, offering up of gifts unto images and idols, to believe that we shall please Him ; for all these be abominations before God ; but let us honour and worship God in spirit and truth, fearing and loving Him above all things, trusting in Him only, calling upon Him and praying to Him only, praising and lauding of Him only, and all other in Him and for Him. For such worshippers does our heavenly Father love, who is a most pure Spirit and therefore will be worshipped in spirit and truth ' (Book II., Hom. II.).

Saint worship. ' Let us not put our trust or confidence in the saints or martyrs that be dead. Let us not call upon them nor desire help at their hands, but let us always lift up our hearts to God, in the name of His dear Son Christ, for whose sake as God hath promised to hear our prayer, so He will truly perform it. Invocation is a thing proper unto God, which if we attribute unto the saints, it soundeth to their reproach, neither can they well bear it at our hands. . . . Let us not anything mistrust God's goodness,

Faith of the Reformed Anglican Church 60

let us not fear to come before the throne of His mercy, let us not seek the aid and help of saints, but let us come boldly ourselves, nothing doubting but God for Christ's sake, in whom He is well pleased, will hear us without a spokesman, and accomplish our desire in all such things as shall be agreeable to His most holy Will' (Hom. VIII.).

Purgatory. 'The only Purgatory, wherein we must trust to be saved, is the death and blood of Christ, which if we apprehend with a true and steadfast faith, it purgeth and cleanseth us from all our sins even as well as if He were now hanging upon the Cross. This is that Purgatory wherein all Christian men put their whole trust and confidence, nothing doubting but if they truly repent them of their sins and die in perfect faith that then they shall forthwith pass from death unto life. If this kind of Purgatory will not save them, let them never hope to be released by other men's prayers though they should continue therein unto the world's end. . . . And look, in what state he dieth, in the same state he shall be judged, whether it be to salvation or damnation' (*Ibid.*).

Seven Sacraments. 'As for the number of them, if they should be considered according to the exact consideration of a sacrament, namely, for the visible signs, expressly commanded in the New Testament, whereunto is annexed the promise of free forgiveness of our sins and of our holiness and joining in Christ, there be but two, namely, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. But in a general acception, the name of a sacrament may be attributed to anything whereby an holy thing is signified. In which

understanding of the word, the ancient writers have given this name, not only to the other five, commonly of late years taken and used for supplying the number of the seven sacraments, but also to divers and sundry other ceremonies, as to oil, washing of feet, and such like, not meaning thereby to repute them as sacraments in the same signification that the two fore-named sacraments are' (Hom. X.).

Holy Communion. 'We must certainly know that three things be requisite in him which would seemly, as becometh such high mysteries, resort to the Lord's Table. That is, first a right and worthy estimation and understanding of this mystery. Secondly to come in a sure faith. And thirdly to have newness or pureness of life to succeed the receiving of the same. But before all other things this we must be sure of especially, that this Supper be in such wise done and ministered as our Lord and Saviour did and commanded to be done, as His holy Apostles used it, and the good Fathers in the Primitive Church frequented it. For (as that worthy man St Ambrose saith) he is unworthy of the Lord that otherwise doth celebrate that mystery than it was delivered by Him. Neither can he be devout that otherwise doth presume than it was given by the Author. We must then take heed lest of the memory it be made a sacrifice ; lest of a communion it be made a private eating ; lest of two parts we have but one ; lest applying it for the dead, we lose the fruit that be alive. Let us rather in these matters follow the advice of Cyprian in like cases ; that is, cleave fast to the first beginning, hold fast the Lord's tradition, do that in the Lord's commemoration which He

Himself did, He Himself commanded and His Apostles confirmed. . . . It is well known that the meat we seek for in this Supper is spiritual food, the nourishment of our soul, a heavenly refection and not earthly, an invisible meat and not bodily, a ghostly substance and not carnal; so that to think that without faith we may enjoy the eating and drinking thereof, or that that is the fruition of it, is but to dream a gross carnal feeding, basely objecting and binding ourselves to the elements and creatures. Whereas, by the advice of the Council of Nicene, we ought to lift up our minds by faith, and leaving these inferior and earthly things, there seek it where the sun of righteousness ever shineth' (Hom. XV. *Of the worthy receiving and reverent esteeming of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ*).⁽¹⁾

Repentance. 'There be four parts of Repentance. The first is the contrition of the heart. . . . The second is an unfeigned confession and acknowledging of our sins unto God. . . . The third part of Repentance is faith, whereby we do apprehend and take hold upon the promises of God touching the free pardon and forgiveness of our sins, which promises are sealed up unto us with the death and blood-shedding of His Son Jesus Christ. . . . The fourth is an amendment of life, or a new life, in bringing forth fruits worthy of repentance; for they that do truly repent, must be clean altered and changed, they must become new creatures, they must be no more the same that they were before. Hereby we do learn what is the satisfaction that God doth require of us, which is, that we cease from evil and do good, and if we have done any man wrong, to en-

deavour ourselves to make him true amends to the uttermost of our power.'

'And whereas the adversaries go about to wrest this place (James v. 16), for to maintain their auricular confession withal, they are greatly deceived themselves and do shamefully deceive others; for if this text ought to be understood of auricular confession, then the priests are as much bound to confess themselves unto the lay-people as the lay-people are bound to confess themselves to them. And if to pray is to absolve, then the laity by this place hath as great authority to absolve the priests as the priests have to absolve the laity.'

'They that teach repentance without a lively faith in our Saviour Jesus Christ do teach none other but Judas's repentance, as all the Schoolmen do, which do only allow these three parts of repentance—the contrition of the heart, the confession of the mouth, and the satisfaction of the work. But all these things we find in Judas's repentance, which in outward appearance did far exceed and pass the repentance of Peter' (Hom. XX. *Of Repentance and of true Reconciliation unto God*).

Latin language. 'In this ignorance have the bishops of Rome kept the people of God, specially the common sort, by no means so much as by the withdrawing of the Word of God from them and by keeping it under the veil of an unknown strange tongue. For as it served the ambitious humour of the bishops of Rome to compel all nations to use the natural language of the city of Rome where they were bishops, which showed a certain acknowledging of subjection unto them, so yet served it much more their

crafty purpose thereby to keep all people blind, that they, not knowing what they prayed, what they believed, what they were commanded by God, might take all their commandments for God's. For as they would not suffer the holy Scriptures or Church service to be used or had in any other language than the Latin, so were very few even of the most simple people taught the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the faith, and the Ten Commandments, otherwise than in Latin, which they understood not ; by which universal ignorance all men were ready to believe whatsoever they said and to do whatsoever they commanded' (Hom. XXI.).

NOTE

(¹) Under Note C (to a Declaration made by the English Church Union in the year 1900) is given a quotation from 'The First Book of the Homilies,' note, p. 147, 'Of the due receiving of the Body and Blood of Christ under the form of bread and wine.' This is adduced in proof that the Church of England teaches that in the Sacrament Christ our Lord is present under the form of bread and wine. It has been shown again and again that this sentence is no part of a Homily. It occurs in a note appended to the First Book of the Homilies promising that hereafter there would follow certain sermons, one of these being 'Of the due receiving of Christ's blessed Body and Blood under the form of Bread and Wine.' This first Book of Homilies was published in July, 1547, whilst the Act of the Six Articles, one of which made the denial of the real presence of Christ's natural body and blood under the form of bread and wine punishable by death and loss of goods, was still in force. When the Second Book of Homilies was published in 1563, no sermon under the promised title was contained in it ; its place was taken by a sermon entitled : 'On the worthy receiving and reverent esteeming of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ,' the teaching of which is in direct opposition to the Declaration. Cranmer is a contemporary witness that the expression found in the note of 1547 is no part of the official language of the Reformed Church. He writes, 'As concerning the form of doctrine used in this Church of England in the Holy Communion that the Body and Blood of Christ be under the

form of bread and wine—when you shall show the place where this form of words is expressed, then shall you purge yourself of that which in the meantime I take to be a *plain untruth*' (*On the Lord's Supper*, P. S., p. 53). This was written in 1550, (Professor Ince, *Doctrine of the Real Presence*, p. 8). The use of this formula as expressing a doctrine sanctioned by the Church of England was brought in by Dr Pusey and still prevails in some quarters. The last edition of Woodward's *Children's Service Book* has added a hymn in which occurs the verse :—

I worship Thee, Lord Jesus,
Who in Thy Love Divine
Art hiding here Thy Godhead
In forms of bread and wine.

This is a translation from a hymn which called forth from Bishop Andrewes the indignant exclamation, 'Let them "worship the Deity hiding there under the species," made from a flour-mill ! Zion would shudder at that and utterly repudiate it' (*Sermon before the Count Palatine*). This hymn and doctrine are now set forth for the use of children of the Church of England.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORSHIP OF THE REFORMED ANGLICAN CHURCH

1. *The Prayer-book.*

WHEN the Church awoke to the work of its reformation, she found the existing forms and ceremonies of worship greatly dependent on an uncertain tradition passing from hand to hand, but mainly embodied in the Breviary, Missal, Manual and Pontifical, the first of these containing an arrangement of the Psalms to be recited at different hours, together with some hymns, prayers and lections; the second, the Mass Services; the third, the Occasional Offices; the fourth, the Ordination Services. The first change made, and that an enormous change, was the presentation of all prayers, lessons and services in the English language instead of Latin. We have seen that the use of the Latin language in the Church Offices may have come in originally without evil intent, though arising in great part from local pride of race. As time went on, it was wilfully adopted for sacerdotal reasons. The result was what St Paul warned the Corinthians against, the people could not pray or sing 'with the understanding.' St Paul was speaking of miraculous utterances in an unknown tongue, but his words apply with extraordinary exactness to the practice of using the Latin tongue in German, French, Italian and English congregations: 'If I pray in an un-

known tongue my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also; I will sing with the spirit and sing with the understanding also. Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say, Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God I speak with tongues more than ye all; yet in the Church I had rather say five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue' (1 Cor. xiv. 14-19). The whole service being performed in an unknown tongue had to be made dramatic. The congregation was no longer a body of the faithful, assembling themselves together to pray and sing and give thanks with the understanding, but a company of spectators watching the acts of another, to which an ever more and more awful character must be assigned in order to keep up the attention of the spectators, and to impress their minds with dread. And this change of idea fell in with the mediæval magnifying of the priesthood, through which all intercourse between God and man must be carried on. The priest did all that had to be done, and the congregation gratefully received all from sacerdotal hands.

2. As soon as the vernacular language was adopted, it was found possible to restore Matins and Evensong as congregational services. These had degenerated into being services, much altered, kept up only in monasteries and in churches to which a chapter was attached; for how could the people take part in them in a foreign tongue? The

Worship of the Reformed Anglican Church 80

Morning Service in the Primitive Church is thus described by St Basil :—

‘The customs which now prevail among us are consonant and agreeable to all the Churches of God. For with us the people rising early, whilst it is night, come to the house of prayer, and there with much labour and affliction and contrition and tears make confession of their sins to God. When this is done, they rise from prayers and dispose themselves to psalmody, sometimes dividing themselves into two parts, they answer one another in singing, or sing alternately ; after this again they permit one alone to begin the psalm and the rest join in the close of every verse. And thus with this variety of psalmody they carry on the night, praying betwixt whiles, or intermingling prayers with their psalms. At last when the day begins to break forth, they all in common, as with one mouth and one heart, offer up to God the psalm of confession, every one making the words of this psalm to be the expression of his own repentance’ (*Ep. lxiii. ad Neocæsar*). ‘Here,’ says Bingham, ‘we have the plain order of their nocturnal or morning devotions. (1) Confession of sins. (2) Psalms sung alternately. (3) Psalms sung by one alone. (4) Prayers between the psalms. (5) Lastly the common psalm of confession, or the penitential psalm in the close of all—being the fifty-first psalm, “Have mercy upon me, O God, after Thy great goodness ; according to the multitude of thy mercies do away mine offences.” For this psalm was particularly noted among the Ancients by the name of the Psalm of Confession—I may add that though this service was very early in the morning, yet it was frequented not by the clergy and monks only, but by the

people also. For St Basil takes notice that the people come to church to celebrate their morning devotions' (*Eccl. Antiq.* xiii. 13, 15). An unknown tongue made such a service as this, where there was nothing to look at and only the devotion of the heart and lips was required, absolutely impossible. One of the greater blessings of the reformed Service-book was the restoration to the people of the old Matin office, of which they had been deprived for nearly a thousand years, in the Order for Morning Prayer daily throughout the year. Bingham says justly that 'the same service with that of the Ancients is still retained, with some improvements, and none of the corruptions which the superstition of darker ages brought into the devotions of the Church, as anyone may satisfy himself that will compare what has been delivered in this chapter (containing an account of the primitive Morning Service) with the Daily Service of our Church' (*Ibid.*). The primitive Morning Service was distinct from the Communion Service, which was held subsequently to it in the forenoon.

3. The case of the Evening Service is similar. In primitive times it was held at nine o'clock p.m. It began with Psalm cxli. : 'Let my prayer be set forth in Thy sight as the incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice,' which was called the Evening Psalm; then followed prayers for catechumens, the possessed, candidates for baptism, penitents, the peace of the world, and the whole Church; then a prayer to pass the night in peace and without sin, and the remainder of life without reproach; then two prayers by the bishop, the first of which was called the Evening Thanksgiving, and the second a Benediction, as follows:—

Worship of the Reformed Anglican Church 50

‘O God, who art without beginning and without end, the Maker and Governor of all things through Christ, the God and Father of Him before all things, the Lord of the Spirit and King of all things both intellectual and sensible; that hast made the day for works of light and the night to give rest to our weakness (for the day is Thine and the night is Thine; Thou hast prepared the light and the sun); do Thou now, most kind and gracious Lord, receive this our evening thanksgiving. Thou that hast led us through the length of the day and brought us to the beginning of the night, keep and preserve us by Thy Christ. Grant that we may pass this evening in peace and this night without sin, and vouchsafe to bring us to eternal life through Thy Christ, by whom be glory, honour and adoration unto Thee in the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen.’

‘O God of our fathers and Lord of mercy that hast created man by Thy wisdom a rational being, and of all Thy creatures upon earth dearest unto Thee, that hast given him dominion over the earth, and hast made us by Thy pleasure to be kings and priests, the one to secure our lives and the other to preserve Thy lawful worship; be pleased now, O Lord Almighty, to bow down and show the light of Thy countenance upon Thy people who bow the neck of their heart before Thee, and bless them by Christ, by Whom Thou hast enlightened us with the light of knowledge, and revealed Thyself unto us; with Whom is due unto Thee and the Holy Ghost the Comforter all worthy adoration from every rational and holy nature, world without end. Amen.’

After these prayers by the bishop, the deacon said, ‘Depart in peace.’ Sometimes hymns were added, some-

times more psalms were chanted, sometimes two lessons were read, one from the Old, the other from the New Testament, and very frequently the Lord's Prayer was used.

But how could such a service as that take place when conducted in a tongue not understood by the people? It had to give way to Expositions of the Sacrament and Benedictions by the Host, in which the priest might be watched acting his part and the congregation might be passive. Common prayer, whether in the morning or evening, ceased. The order for Evening Prayer daily throughout the year restored the old Evening Prayer of the Primitive Church in all essential points, as the order for Morning Prayer restored the Morning Prayer of the Early Ages.

4. The Promulgation of the Calendar of itself formed a long step backward toward primitive purity in two ways. We know that the Holy Scriptures were diligently read in the assemblies of the early Christians. Justin Martyr, the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, Cassian, Augustine, Chrysostom and many more say so. But the congregations could not be edified by sounds not understood, and the Mediæval Church did not want the congregations to understand Scripture. So the fruitful reading of Holy Scripture was given up. But the Lectionary of the Church of England was remarkable for instituting a more complete and orderly rule for reading the Holy Scriptures than any other Church's in Christendom. By the Calendar, as fixed at the Reformation, the Old Testament was appointed to be read through once in the year and the New Testament three times; and, in imitation of a primitive custom, a Bible was placed in churches for private perusal. Thus a systematic knowledge of Holy Writ, pregnant

Worship of the Reformed Anglican Church §•

with consequences fatal to mediævalism, was widely spread.

5. The other step toward purity made by the Calendar was the removal from it of a host of saints, apocryphal and otherwise. Collects, Epistles and Gospels were left or appointed only for the festivals of holy men and women in Scripture. In the Collects for the other saints' days and accompanying lections, the mediæval false doctrine of the Invocation of Saints had most deeply implanted itself. At a blow the Collects and lections for all legendary and all non-Scriptural saints were struck off, and wherever prayers to the saint or recognition of his merit were found in the Collects hitherto appropriated to the festivals that were left, they were replaced by new Collects, infinitely more spiritual and primitive, composed by Cranmer. A careful supervision of the old service-books noted every passage in which the honour due to God was given to man, and it was struck out with an unsparing hand. 'Let not our religion,' said the reformers with St Augustine, 'be the worship of dead men ! They are to be honoured that we may imitate them, not adored so as to be objects of religious worship' (*De Vera Relig.* iv.). Once more, as at the beginning, the sole object of worship to English Christians was God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

6. When we come to the particulars which make up the Morning and Evening Prayer, we find them to consist of—(1) a form of public confession and absolution ; (2) a form of praise and thanksgiving ; (3) a reading of God's Word ; (4) a form of prayer.

The public Confession and Absolution, drawn up in 1552, serve, and were intended to serve, as a discour-

ment of the practice of private Confession and Absolution. Until the yoke of Innocent III. was broken, every faithful member of the Church was bound to confess his sins at least once a year to his parish priest, and if he wished to advance in the spiritual life he was exhorted to do so more frequently. In 1549 the Church instructed her children not to regard this practice as necessary but rather to be content with the public confession and absolution of the Communion Service, though they were not to unchurch others for continuing the old system as a voluntary act. The forms of public confession and absolution in the Communion Service (1549) were intended like those of the Morning and Evening Prayer, inserted in 1552, to satisfy a need felt by the people without driving them to have recourse to the Confessional. In her earliest Prayer-book she also put out the Commination Service. In this we find a characteristic note of regret that it was impossible to restore the old system of public penitence which prevailed in the Primitive Church, when notorious sinners openly acknowledged their sin before the congregation, and on the congregation being satisfied that they were truly penitent were restored to the communion and peace of the Church. But recognising that this system of discipline was no longer possible, she did not propose to substitute for it the system of private confession, whether obligatory or voluntary, but instead she ordered that there should be read in the ears of the people out of the Scriptures 'the general sentences' of God's denunciation of unrepented sin, 'to the intent that being admonished of the great indignation of God against sinners ye may rather be moved to earnest and true repentance.' Then she left Holy Scripture, followed by the exhortation of the Church,

to do its rightful work, handing over the soul, thus made contrite, not to the manipulation of the confessor but to the free mercy and love of God. According to her teaching, emphasised in 1552, auricular confession and absolution were no part of religious practice in the normal life of the Christian, for confession to God and prayer to Him would certainly bring pardon and restoration to the contrite soul. But she admitted that there might be an exceptional case. A man might be so overwhelmed with horror at a past sin as to be unable to persuade himself of God's forgiveness, and he might therefore exclude himself from the Holy Communion. In that case he should seek the counsel of his clergyman or some other minister of God's Word, to receive from him that assurance of God's forgiveness of which he could not satisfy himself, and so obtain the benefit of absolution in restoration to the Lord's Table. This comforting assurance would be more especially needed in the case of one dying troubled in mind or conscience with any weighty matter. In that case, after he had unburdened himself, God's minister was *to declare him restored* to God's favour (provided always that he was penitent) and to *restore* him to the privilege of the Church by admitting him to Holy Communion. But this was exceptional. The rule was the adequacy of repentance for bringing forgiveness from God, which was a recurrence to the principle laid down by Augustine and Chrysostom. The Homily on Repentance and true Reconciliation with God quotes St Augustine: 'Moreover these were St Augustine's words, "What have I to do with men that they should hear my confession, as though they were to heal my diseases"?' St Chrysostom writes in his treatise

De Pœnitentia, 'Hast though sinned? Say to God, I have sinned; I do not require anything else of thee but that.' 'Hast thou sinned? Be sorry and thou effacest thy sin.' 'Be humble and thou loosest the knot of thy sin.' 'A fourth way of penitence is almsgiving, the queen of virtues' (*Hom.* ii. 287, 290, 292). 'Make your judgment and the examination into your sins, within, in your own conscience, no one being present except the all-seeing God, and considering all your life, submit your sins to the judgment of your mind; reform your faults and so with a clear conscience come to the Holy Table and partake of the holy sacrifice' (*Hom.* vi. 326). 'It is most evident and plain,' says the Homily of the English Church, 'that this auricular confession has not his warrant of God's Word. Let us with fear and trembling and with a true contrite heart use that kind of confession that God doth command in His Word; and then doubtless, as He is faithful and righteous, He will forgive us our sins and make us clean from all wickedness. I do not say but that if any do find himself troubled in conscience, they may repair to their learned curate or to some other godly learned man, and show the trouble and doubt of their conscience to them, that they may receive at their hands the comfortable salve of God's Word; but it is against the true Christian liberty that any man should be bound to the numbering of his sins, as it hath been used heretofore, in the time of blindness and ignorance' (Part ii.).

The transference of Confession and Absolution from the Confessional box to the public service of the Church must have wrought an untold effect both on the religious life of the individual, who was now entrusted with himself, and on

the acts of worship carried on in the Church, and on the sacerdotal authority of the clergy. With respect to the other parts of the service we may imagine the spiritual exultation and thankfulness with which men joined in common prayer and common praises and heard God's Word read to them in common in their own native language, after the Church had been debarred from such privileges for more than a thousand years.

7. The Litany was the first part of the Prayer-book to be disembarrassed of its mediæval surroundings and divested of its mediæval character. In the unreformed Service-books it made a part of the rites and ceremonies of Easter Eve which were (and are) as follows: (1) Sparks were struck from a flint and from them was lighted a coal fire, which was blessed as a new fire in three prayers by a priest dressed in his ecclesiastical robes, with cross-bearer, holy water and incense by his side, at the door of the Church. (2) The priest blessed five grains of incense in another prayer, and the coals from the new fire having been put into the thurible, he sprinkled them and the five grains of incense with holy water. (3) All the lights were extinguished in order that they might be re-lit from the new fire. (4) A procession was formed—first came the thurifer with the new fire and an acolyte with the five grains, next the cross-bearer, then all the clergy present, then a deacon with a wand or rod having at the top a triangle of unlighted candles, and last the celebrant. (5) On entering the church the deacon bent down his wand and the acolyte lit one of the candles by a candle that he had lighted from the new fire, and the deacon and all the rest, except the cross-bearer, genuflected; on reaching the middle of the

church the second candle was lighted and all again genuflected as before; when the altar was reached, the third candle was lighted and the genuflexion again took place. (6) The deacon handed the wand to an acolyte, took his book, and after getting the celebrant to bless it, put it upon a desk and censed it, while the cross-bearer, the thurifer, the acolyte with the candle and an acolyte with the five grains of incense stood by his side. (7) The deacon intoned a prayer during which he fixed the five grains of incense that had been blessed, in the shape of a cross, on a wax candle and then lit the wax candle from one of the candles on the top of the wand. (8) All the other lamps and candles in the church were lighted. (9) The celebrant read in a low voice (and in Latin) at the south end of the altar twelve lessons from the Old Testament, while a presbyter was meantime catechising candidates for baptism. (10) The priest proceeded to the font with the cross-bearer and the blessed wax candle, and blessed the font, using a prayer in the course of which first he made a cross upon the water, then put his hand upon it, then spilt some of it towards the four points of the compass, then three times breathed upon it in the form of a cross, then dipped the wax candle in it, first a little way, then a little further, then rather further, and then all of it, then he blew three times on the water in the shape of the Greek letter Ψ, then he took the wax candle out again, then he poured in some oil in the shape of a cross, then another kind of oil in the shape of a cross, then both oils together in the shape of a cross, then he mixed the oil with the water, spreading the oil over all the water in the font. (11) He and his assistants returned to the altar, and during this procession

Worship of the Reformed Anglican Church 50

thither the Litany was sung by two of the clergy, all uniting in the refrain. We have now reached the Litany, which began thus:—

‘O God the Father of heaven, have mercy on us; O God the Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy on us; O God the Holy Ghost, have mercy on us. Holy Mary, pray for us; Holy Mother of God, pray for us; Holy Virgin of virgins, pray for us; Holy Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, John Baptist, Joseph, Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, Stephen, Lawrence, Vincent, Silvester, Gregory, Augustine, Anthony, Benedict, Dominic, Francis, Mary Magdalene, Agnes, Cecilia, Agatha, Anastasia, all Holy Angels and Archangels, all orders of blessed Spirits, all Holy Patriarchs and Prophets, all Holy Apostles and Evangelists, all Holy Disciples of the Lord, all Holy Martyrs, all Holy Pontiffs and Confessors, all Holy Doctors, all Holy Priests and Levites, all Holy Monks and Hermits, all Holy Virgins and Widows, pray for us! All holy men and women of God, intercede for us!’ Then it proceeded thus—‘Be favourable, spare us, Lord!’ and it contained many supplications which have been retained in the English Litany.

If we contrast the Litany of the Reformed Anglican Church and the Litany of the Mediæval and Modern Roman Church (for all these ceremonies and invocations are ordered in the Missals of the present day), it will be seen that one is the prayer of manly faith to God, the other a series of superstitious acts crowned by a prayer marred by the introduction of invocations to supposed saints and angels. The change was restorative of old truth in place of mediæval error, and it is almost surprising to see the sure religious instinct with which Cranmer sifted the wheat from the chaff. ‘The old

Litanies,' says Bishop Barry, 'were much of the general form of our service, as may be seen by early examples. Not till the eighth century did the Invocation of Saints come in, and in striking it out we have returned to the primitive model' (*Teachers' Prayer-book*).

8. Besides the worship of the saints, we see the mediæval trust in human merit parted with in the Collects to be used throughout the year, and other prayers.

9. The most decided repudiation of mediæval error in worship is to be found in the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion. This we should expect, for we have seen that mediævalism, having practically shelved the Morning and Evening Prayer of the Primitive Church, concentrated itself on the celebration of the Mass, where it professed that the priest 'by means of the words of consecration, effected the real Objective Presence on the Altar of the true Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and thereby offered Him up in sacrifice' (they are Cardinal Vaughan's words). To greet the coming of the Lord, all possible ceremony was employed, and to exhibit Him to the people, ignorant of the priest's language, every dramatic art was used. The altar had to be of stone, or at least, a stone blessed by the bishop must be inlaid in it, on which the Host, that is Christ, might stand. A cross was placed in the middle of the altar, and two lighted candles on each side. The priest brought the elements with every sign of reverence; 'the celebrant with joined hands went up to the middle of the altar, and then bowing, and placing his hands, still joined, on the altar in such a way that only the two little fingers should touch the front part of the top of the altar, while the other parts of his hands were kept

between himself and the altar, and the right thumb was laid over the left thumb in the form of a cross' (Missal ritual), he said a prayer under his breath and 'kissed the middle of the altar, stretching out his hands at equal distances on either side and placing them upon it,' and taking care after the consecration has taken place 'never to separate the thumb from the first finger' when extending his hands. Then he three times put some incense into a thurible, made the sign of the cross over it and blessed it, and twice bowing to the cross, censed it three times, and the different parts of the altar some twenty times, and the relics or images of the saints in or on the altar twice, and then he was censed himself by the deacon. So the ceremony proceeded with crossings, bowings, joining of hands, lifting up of the hands so that one palm should face the other, extending the hands, casting down the eyes and lifting them up, genuflectings, kissings, bendings of the head, kneelings, standings up, censings, washings of hands, wipings of fingers, moving from one spot to another, knockings of the breast; all exactly ordered and taught as for the stage. The ritual directions for celebrating Mass occupy no less than twenty pages of small print in the Missal. When the priest came nearer to the consecration, there were not only histrionic regulations as to his movements, but injunctions of a graver character, both in the Ritual directions, and in the order of the Mass.

The saints whose memory was venerated were SS. Mary, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, Thaddaeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Lawrence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and all others,

and their merits were relied upon as well as their prayers.

Those into whose society God was besought to admit the congregation were the Apostles and Martyrs, with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia.

Those in whose honour the oblation was made, with a view of gaining their intercessions, were SS. Mary, John Baptist, Peter, Paul, and all saints. Prayer was made that the oblation might become to us the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and at the moment of consecration the priest was to lean his elbows on the altar, hold the Host between his thumb and first finger and say, 'This is my Body,' genuflecting and worshipping it ; then standing up he was to elevate it on high, fix his eyes upon it, and show it to the people for their reverent worship, then to lay it down and again worship it himself, while the attendant rang a little bell, to tell the people when it was safe to begin worshipping the wafer, which before the words were spoken was wheaten bread and after that was Christ. In like manner, after saying, 'This is the cup of my blood of the new and eternal testament,' the priest worshipped it, elevated it, but not so conspicuously as the bread, and again worshipped it. After more prayers the priest consumed both his own wafer and the whole of the wine, thus finishing the supposed sacrifice by putting an end to the existence of Christ in the sacrament. Any communicants that there might be received the bread only, not the wine, and they were taught that the bread was Christ, though how Christ's sacramental existence could have been

Worship of the Reformed Anglican Church

destroyed by the priest's consumption of the species (without that destruction there is no sacrifice according to Bellarmine and the other authorities), and yet He could have continued in each one of the wafers until they were eaten and digested, has never been explained.

This histrionic exhibition and materialisation of a spiritual mystery ceased with the reformed Communion Service. Its unreal and tawdry splendour (typified by lighted candles in daylight) came to an end, and inward spirituality with reverent outward demeanour took its place. The object of worship was God, not the sacrament ; the bread no longer became the Body of Christ, but was the means by which we might be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood in our souls ; Christ's institution was restored to its original purpose, being primarily a sacrament in which man received a gift from God, rather than a sacrifice in which man gave (what he did not own) to God ; Christ's command that all should drink of this cup was no longer transgressed ; private Masses, Masses for the dead and Hearing Mass (or Non-communicating attendance) were abolished, and Reservation for any purpose was forbidden.

The restoration of Holy Communion in place of Hearing Mass or Non-communicating attendance, which had been substituted for it, was vital to the Church of England at the time of the Reformation, and it made the greatest change of all in the manner of conducting the weekly worship of the Church. Accordingly, in the Prayer-book of 1552, 1559 and 1604, she addressed the following warning to her children : 'Whereas ye offend God so sore in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you, that to this unkindness ye will not add any more ; which

thing ye shall do if ye stand by as gazers and lookers on them that do communicate and be no partakers yourselves. For what thing can this be accounted else than a further contempt and unkindness to God? Truly it is a great unthankfulness to say Nay when ye are called; but the fault is *much greater* when men stand by and yet will neither eat nor drink this Holy Communion with others. I pray you what can this be else than but even to have the mysteries of Christ in derision? It is said unto all, "Take ye and eat," "Take and drink ye all of this," "Do this in remembrance of Me." With what face then and with what countenance shall ye hear these words? What will this else be but a neglecting and despising and mocking of the Testament of Christ? Wherefore, rather than that ye should do so, *depart you hence*, and give place to them that are godly disposed.'

In like manner, in the Second Book of the Homilies, published in 1563, she says, 'Our loving Saviour hath ordained and established the remembrance of His great mercy expressed in His Passion in the institution of His heavenly Supper, where every one of us must be guests and not gazers, *eaters and not lookers on*. To this His commandment forceth us, saying, "Do ye this; drink ye all of this." To this His promise enticeth, "This is My Body which is given for you: this is My Blood, which is shed for you." So then we must be ourselves partakers of this Table and not beholders of others' (*Hom. xv.*).

These exhortations and the spread of knowledge respecting the practice of the Primitive Church on the point in question had the effect of breaking off the mediæval custom of Hearing Mass, and of substituting for it a true

Worship of the Reformed Anglican Church 50

Communion of faithful recipients. In the century which elapsed between 1559 and 1662 the habit had become so obsolete that in the Revision of 1662 the Church did not feel it necessary to repeat her warnings against it, nor was the practice again heard of in the Church of England for two hundred years.

10. The remaining changes for the better made in the Church's worship may be passed over more summarily. In the office of Public Baptism the uncomely practices of putting salt on the child's lips and spittle on his ears and nose, and adding oil to the water, and putting a lighted candle in the child's hand were given up. None of them were primitive. In the Order of Confirmation the Apostolic ceremony of imposition of hands, which had disappeared from the mediæval rite, was restored; and the service was made more edifying by appointing that it should not be used until the candidates had arrived at years of discretion and could renew their baptismal vows. In the Solemnisation of Matrimony the blessing of the ring was omitted. In the Visitation of the sick the Extreme Unction, which in that form only dated from the twelfth century though founded on an Apostolic rite of a different nature; and in the Burial Service the censing, sprinkling with holy water, and prayer and Mass for the dead were disused. In the Thanksgiving of women after child-birth the name was changed from the 'Purification of Women, which has a Judaical ring about it, to 'Churching of Women,' as it is now commonly designated.

11. The Communion of the Sick, a service peculiar to the Church of England, is an example of using new means when required to carry out old principles. In the early

Church, before superstitious ideas had connected themselves with the sacred elements, they could without risk of misunderstanding be taken from the celebration of the Communion in the church to the sick-bed. Later on, there grew up the belief in the objective presence of Christ in the elements and at once the element of bread (why not also of wine?), being reserved in the church before it was taken to the sick person, became an object of worship. It could not be otherwise, and would be the case now if any form of reservation was permitted. Therefore the old simple practice of communicating the sick had to be given up, and in its place was substituted the office for the Communion of the Sick, in which the clergyman consecrates the elements in the sick man's house and presence. This plan was found, on experiment, to be infinitely superior to the earlier system; for now so much of the Communion Service as the sick man could bear was said in his presence, and his mind was thus brought into a religious state in which he might derive benefit from the rite, and a danger to which Communion with the reserved elements was specially liable, of leading the sick person to trust in the *opus operatum*, as though a benefit were derived from the mere act of receiving the Sacrament without regard to the recipient's state of mind and soul, was obviated.

12. In the Communion Services there was cut off the ceremony of blessing ashes. This began with a prayer that God would send a holy angel from heaven to bless and sanctify the ashes to serve as a wholesome remedy, so that whoever was sprinkled with them for the redemption of his sins might gain health of body and safeguard of soul. A second prayer asked God to 'bless the ashes which, for

Worship of the Reformed Anglican Church 50

promoting humility and securing pardon, we have determined to put upon our heads.' Then the celebrant three times sprinkled the ashes with holy water and three times censed them. Then he put the ashes on the heads of clergy and laity, kneeling before the altar; after which followed Mass. The Church of England held that humility and penitence could be better taught by a declaration of God's great indignation against sinners as shown in Holy Scripture and an exhortation to avoid the sins which brought His judgments on the perpetrators. She considered this spiritual exercise of the Commination Service on the first day of Lent, the season of penitence, more conducive to true repentance and forgiveness than the ceremony of spreading ashes on the head or the rite of private confession and absolution.

13. For a supposed weekly recitation of the Psalms, sung by those who might (or might not) know Latin, in the presence of a congregation (if any) who understood nothing of what was being chanted, a monthly recitation, in the vernacular, in the congregational service, was substituted. 'The desired result,' says Bishop Barry, 'has certainly followed, in the wide extension of the knowledge and use of the Psalter by all classes of the members of the Church of England' (*Teachers' Prayer-book*).

14. The form of prayer to be used at sea and before and after a naval engagement, to which there is nothing analogous in the pre-reformation manuals, added in 1662, are an instance of the desire of the Church of England to consecrate to God the life of the nation as well as of the individual. This is the result of her being a National Church.

CHAPTER V

THE WORSHIP OF THE REFORMED ANGLICAN CHURCH

2. *The Ordinal*

THE Ordinal, prepared in 1550 and added to the Prayer-book in 1552, was drawn up on the same principle as the Prayer-book, that is, mediæval insertions were struck out and the ancient forms were recovered so far as was possible. In the Preface the modern Roman dictum that the three Orders of the Ministry are Priest, Deacon and sub-Deacon, the first of which is divisible into the Episcopate and the Presbyterate, is not so much as mentioned. It is unhesitatingly laid down that 'from the Apostles' time there have been three Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests and Deacons.' And the statement is amply justified by history. Presbyters and Deacons appear in Holy Scripture, and James of Jerusalem, recognised by the other Apostles as holding a special authority at the Council of Jerusalem, Timothy and Titus, appointed by St Paul, and Polycarp, ordained by St John and others of the Apostles (*Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* iv. 14), are the beginning of a long line of bishops, who have succeeded one the other in the government of the Church. (1)

When we come to the form of ordination, we find the principles of simplification and rejection of mediævalisms to have guided the compilers. In the ordination of deacons,

Worship of the Reformed Anglican Church 50

investiture with the stole was given up ; in the ordination of priests, investiture with the stole and chasuble, anointing and blessing of the hands, and the delivery of the paten and chalice, were omitted ; in the consecration of bishops, anointing the head and hands, the delivery of a ring and mitre and pastoral staff were abandoned. Of these omissions the most important is that of the delivery of the paten and chalice to the priests, called *porrectio instrumentorum*, and its importance is given it by historical events which are thus recounted by Dr v. Döllinger :—

‘At Florence a peculiar formula of belief was drawn up, in the first instance for the Armenians, with the pretended assent of the Council, which was nevertheless properly at an end. In this so-named *Decretum pro Armenis* the doctrine of the Seven Sacraments is especially developed for the instruction of the Orientals ; it is the only detailed statement of the kind before the time of the Trent Council. There is found there in respect to ordination the perfectly astonishing declaration that the matter of this sacrament is not the laying on of hands, which is not even mentioned, but the *porrectio instrumentorum*, the delivery of the chalice and paten. The form also is inexact, drawn out at great length. The decree was to be forced on the Orientals ; Clement VIII. even ordered the Orientals to observe it in regard to the sacraments. And yet the *porrectio instrumentorum* is purely a ceremony, and in truth one that first arose after the year 1000 and only in the West ! If so great ignorance had not prevailed, the *Decretum pro Armenis* must alone have sufficed to hinder the declaration of Infallibility : for here undoubtedly a Pope has erred in a solemn dogmatic decree, in that he has marked the un-

essential ceremony of the *porrectio instrumentorum* as essential in ordination and has not mentioned the essential laying on of hands. Actually indeed laying on of hands is retained in Roman Catholic ordinations, but yet in the last century it was declared from Rome that ordinations held in a French diocese were invalid and to be repeated, because the *porrectio instrumentorum* had been omitted. How would it be now if bishops on the ground of this decree should have viewed the laying on of hands, which is essential to the validity of ordination, as a mere ceremony, and should have discontinued it? English theologians have only to hold this *Decretum pro Armenis* right energetically before the Romish theologians in England who attack the validity of the Anglican ordinations, and remind them that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. The important thing is that in ordination laying on of hands be used, that words besides be uttered in which the communication of the grace of Orders is expressed, and that it be assumed there is conveyed through ordination a grace of the Holy Spirit. In this respect English ordination cannot be questioned. The validity of Roman Catholic ordinations can perhaps be questioned with more appearance of justice' (*Speech at the Bonn Conference of 1875*).

On the same subject Bishop Reinkens:—

‘Pope Eugenius IV. in his Decree for the Armenians (November 22, 1139) by his teaching about matter and form, laid Papal Infallibility painfully open to attack. He fell into error in determining the matter of ordination. Here also Schoolmen, who were ignorant of the history of the Primitive Church, led the way. Instead of the imposition of hands at ordination which the history of the Apostolic

Worship of the Reformed Anglican Church §.

Church so unmistakably presents to us, Eugenius IV. declared the matter of the sacrament to be the delivery of the vessels and instruments necessary for the exercise of the *Ordo*' (*International Theological Review*, January 1895).

In a similar spirit Professor Friedrich :—

‘The Anglican form of ordination is more complete, and so far as the enumeration of special functions goes, preferable to the Catholic form. What in the Roman Catholic form of ordination is not specially mentioned but occurs only in scattered ceremonies, is expressed precisely and concisely in the Anglican form. There can be no doubt whatever that the Anglican Ordination contains everything that can be demanded of it from the Catholic side’ (*Ibid.*).

The omission of the words conveying direct power to offer sacrifice was still more objectionable in the eyes of Romanists than the abandonment of the delivery of the sacred vessels. No one ordained without those words being used, said Pope Leo XIII., had power to sacrifice, and without power to sacrifice he could not celebrate the Eucharist and was no priest at all. It was very easy to reply that for more than a thousand years the words had never been used in ordination, and that therefore, on the hypothesis of their being necessary, there was no Ministry of the Church during the first thousand years and consequently there was none now. And it was very easy to show also that the person ordained was authorised to administer the sacraments, and that if one of them had a sacrificial character through the offering of praise and thanksgiving and pleading, by commemoration, the Sacrifice of the Cross, then the power was indirectly given; and that if it had no such character, then the power was not

wanted. But a defensive and apologetic argument is not sufficient here. It was not only a thing to be excused, but it was desirable, nay, necessary, to strike out the mediæval words because they had led and were still leading to a fatal misapprehension of what the priestly office is in relation to the Lord's Supper. The Roman Catholic definition of priesthood is, in the words of Cardinal Vaughan and the Anglo-Roman Bishops, 'the power to cause the Body and Blood of Christ to become present on the altar under the appearances of Bread and Wine, and thereby to offer Him up in sacrifice.' In the words of *Le Manrèze du Prêtre*, a book commonly used in the retreats of the French clergy, it is the power by which the priest 'daily creates the Word Himself made Flesh.' Could the Church of England profess to have the priesthood in this sense? Impossible. For it is a corollary from the two doctrines of Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass, both of which she repudiated. And in good faith, does it savour most of St Paul's teaching to Timothy and Titus, or of the boastful claim of some African medicine man? Can a man really 'create the Word made flesh'? Can a man really summon Jesus Christ on to the altar and then 'offer Him up in sacrifice'? Rejecting the Roman doctrine, the Church of England held fast to the doctrine of the priesthood such as it was before Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass were invented. By her altered form of ordination she showed that she believed that God gives His Holy Spirit to those who are set apart by the chief rulers of the Church for the sacred ministry, and that this gift of the Holy Spirit enables them to fulfil the functions of their office, such as offering prayer

Worship of the Reformed Anglican Church ~~so~~

and praise publicly to God, instructing the people out of His Holy Word, comforting the perplexed, assuring the troubled conscience of God's forgiveness of the penitent, blessing the faithful and administering the sacraments instituted by Christ. So far as the power of sacrifice is concerned, the two ideas of the priesthood, the primitive and Anglican on one side, and the mediæval and Roman on the other, have little in common and can have little in common as long as Rome maintains the doctrines of Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass, from which follows her doctrine of the priesthood. It was undoubtedly right, therefore, to strike out from the ordination service words, interpolated in the Middle Ages, which were meant to teach a mediæval corruption of the truth, which corruption the Church was repudiating.

And this was not all. Both the doctrine and worship of the Church depend upon the opinion entertained of the nature of the Ministry. In almost all heathen religions and among the Jews there existed a priesthood which was considered necessary as intermediary between God and man. God was too holy for man to approach Him except through Ministers of His choice whom He had sanctified to present the prayers of men to God and the blessing of God to men. Under the Jewish dispensation the separation between God and man was typified by the veil, dividing off from what was still a Holy place the Mercy seat and the Holy of Holies, which veil none but the High Priest might pass, 'the Holy Ghost thus signifying that the way into the Holiest was not yet made manifest while as the first tabernacle was standing' (Heb. ix. 8). At the crucifixion of the Lord the veil was 'rent in twain

from the top to the bottom,' and thereby there was typified that in Christ men might now draw nigh to God, not shut out from His presence and mercies by any obstacle, and might 'enter boldly into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way which He had consecrated for us through the vail, that is to say, His flesh' (*Ibid.* x. 20). Accordingly, St Peter—not St Paul, but St Peter—assures us that Christians are 'a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people' (1 Pet. ii. 9), and in the Book of the Revelation we are taught that Christ 'loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father' (Rev. i. 6); that 'He hath redeemed us to God by His blood out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation and hath made us unto our God kings and priests' (*Ibid.* v. 9, 10). Every Christian is in this sense a priest, that he may go direct to his Abba Father without requiring an intermediate caste to stand between him and God. But in the Middle Ages this great truth became obscured. The priest again became a necessity to bring down Christ from heaven by a formula which none but he could pronounce, and to sacrifice Him on the altar; and the priest sat in the place of God dispensing His forgiveness at his discretion. Hence the Church of which the priest was the minister became practically the Mediator instead of Christ, the body taking the place of the Head.

All this was done away with at the Reformation. Priesthood was now an Order of the Ministry, and a priest meant not a mediator by means of sacrifice, but an elderly person (the word being contracted from presbyter) to whom was entrusted the care of a congregation.⁽²⁾ The Christian

priest has no more power to sacrifice than the rest of the faithful. He can offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; so can they. He can make an offering of his goods; so can they. He can offer and present himself; so can they. In so far as the Eucharist is a sacrifice, it is offered by all the congregation as well as by the officiating priest; if he 'celebrates' the Lord's Supper, so do they. It was right therefore to remove words which seemed to give to a priest on his ordination a sacrificial power, not shared by others, founded on a false and superstitious notion.

On the other hand the compilers judged well in retaining the text, 'Whosoever sins ye remit,' etc., although not found in the primitive ordinals, because the way in which sins can be remitted by God's minister is thus indicated, namely, by his public ministration of God's Word and Sacraments, which previously to his ordination he was not authorised to minister.

NOTES

(1) The Church of England has put forth or formulated no speculative *doctrine* of Apostolical Succession. The *fact* of an Episcopal Succession from the time of the Apostles to the present day she recognises, by saying that there always have been bishops from the Apostles' time, and that all clergy, including bishops, are ordained or consecrated by bishops. Bishop Stubbs and Archdeacon Clarke have shown that there is no break from the present day to Augustine of England and Vergilius of Arles in the line of English bishops. This fact is of great value in arguing with a Romanist adversary. It strikes a weapon out of his hand which he would fain make use of, as shown by the attempts to pass off the Nag's Head Fable as true and to impugn Barlow's consecration. Bishop Herzog in a paper read at the Norwich Church Congress declined to negative the feasibility of the Church Catholic at any moment, should there be occasion, 'creating the Episcopate anew from its own body.' This question, being hypothetical only, has not been before the Church of England in such a way as to call forth an answer from her.

Scriptural and Catholic Truth

(3) The Old Catholic presbyter at San Remo, Rev. Ugo Janni, writes : 'I believe in the divine institution of the Ministry of the Church. The purpose of the institution is indicated in Ephesians iv. 11-15. At first the ministry was wholly in the hands of the Apostles. Later on, new necessities arising from the development of the Church led to a division of labour and a consequent distinction into three Orders of the Ministry ; the bishop or superintendent to preside over the general government of the Church, the presbyter who had the government of the several congregations, and the deacons to help the presbyters in their work. Chronologically, after the Apostles, the first to make their appearance were the deacons, then the presbyters, and finally the bishops, who take the place of the Apostles in the general government of the Church. These different officers of the Church are ministers of the Word and Sacraments, but they are not *sacerdoti*. In the New Testament there is but one *sacerdote*, Jesus Christ, and in a wider sense of the word all believers are *sacerdoti*. See Heb. vi. and 1 Peter ii. 5-9. For the Roman Church, on the other hand, the priests are *sacerdoti* who profess to offer the real Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. Consequently, they are mediators between God and man. Now we reject this tenet not only as erroneous but as blasphemous, which does a wrong to the single and eternal Priesthood of Christ. Indeed the most essential difference between Popery and Reform seems to lie exactly here.'—*Labaro*, June 1899.

CHAPTER VI

THE WORSHIP OF THE REFORMED ANGLICAN CHURCH

3. *The Canons*

THE Canons of 1603-4, confirmed by James I., regulated the dress of the clergy during their ministrations. In cathedral and collegiate churches the officiating clergyman and the readers of the Epistle and Gospel were ordered to wear a cope—a vestment to which no sacrificial or superstitious idea had been attached—at the celebration of the Holy Communion (*Can. xxiv.*). With that exception, ‘every minister saying the public prayers or ministering the Sacraments or other rites of the Church shall wear a decent and comely surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the cost of the parish’ (*Can. lviii.*). In other words the clergyman’s appointed dress in all parish churches at all times, and in cathedrals and collegiate churches at all services except the celebration of the Holy Communion (when a cope, not a chasuble, was used), was to be the surplice. This is the rule of the Church at the present time. It has been supposed that the so-called *Ornaments rubric* of 1662 being of a later date may have superseded these canons of 1603-4. But Lord Selborne (Roundell Palmer) has shown with great clearness that this is not so. Historically the case stands thus:—

— In 1549 the minister at the Lord’s Table was allowed to

wear either a chasuble (called a vestment) or a cope. This was a step forward, as hitherto a chasuble, which had come to be regarded as a sacrificial vestment, had been indispensable. In 1552 both chasuble and cope were forbidden and the surplice was substituted for all ministrations. In 1559 the cope was again permitted by the 'interpretations' appended to Elizabeth's Injunctions of that year, and it was used at the consecration of Archbishop Parker by the Bishop of Chichester, and by two of the Archbishop's chaplains. In the same year a clause of the Act of Uniformity, commonly called the Ornaments Rubric, was added, without ecclesiastical authority, to the Prayer-book of 1559, by which the ornaments, including clerical dress, used in the second year of Edward VI. (that is, the alb and vestment (chasuble) or cope ordered in 1549) were again permitted. But the Act expressly stated that that permission was only to last *until other order should be taken by the authority of the Queen with the advice of the Metropolitan*. That 'other order' was taken by the 'advertisements' drawn up by the Queen's injunction, and issued by Archbishop Parker in 1566. That this was the case, was the judgment of nine out of the ten learned judges—Cairns, James, Brett, Smith, Colville, Collier, Amphlett, Phillimore, Selborne, on their examining the question in 1877. This 'other order' enjoined the use of the cope in the celebration of the Holy Communion in cathedrals and collegiate churches (only), and of the surplice in all other clerical ministrations. The 'order' with its injunctions about clerical dress became at once law—the law of the land—in 1566, and the canons of Convocation made it the law of the Church in 1604. It is true that the so-called Orna-

ments rubric of 1559 was retained both in 1604 and in 1662, but only as keeping alive the old note or clause taken from Elizabeth's Statute of Uniformity, under which statute the 'other order' had been introduced and which made that 'order' still legal. 'It being determined,' says Lord Selborne, that 'the so-called *Ornaments Rubric* (so called but not really a rubric at all) was still what it had been before —a memorandum or note of reference only to the clause of Queen Elizabeth's Act, it followed that what had been lawfully done in that interval between 1559 and 1661 by the authority of the Crown by virtue, and in exercise of the power reserved by that clause, was meant to remain and did remain in force. The Judicial Committee held that the direction of the *Advertisements* never ceased to be law from the time of their first proclamation in 1566 to the present day' (*Memorials* xviii. p. 390). As then the surplice had been the dress of the clergy in all their ministrations (except in cathedrals and collegiate churches) in accordance with the law of the realm since 1566, and by the canon of the Church since 1604, so it remained their dress after 1662. None of the bishops engaged on the revision of the *Prayer-book* in 1662 gave the slightest indication of their thinking otherwise, and what they uniformly required at their visitations to be provided was one or more surplices, and none of the Edwardian vestments. The question of what were and what were not the ornaments of the second year of Edward VI. has in truth no more than an antiquarian interest for us. Those ornaments were only legal for three years in the reign of Edward (1549-1552), and for seven years in the reign of Elizabeth (1559-1566), after which they were superseded by the rule which

orders the use of the surplice at all ministrations, with the one exception above specified—a rule universally acted upon from the year 1566 until it was broken for the first time by the Rev. T. Chamberlain, vicar of St Thomas', Oxford, about the year 1850.

‘The type of dress which was at length established’ (in the eleventh or twelfth century), says Mr Marriott, ‘has been maintained in the Roman Church, with very slight modifications only, to the present time. But when, after the revival of ancient learning, the Church of England reformed her faith and her discipline, upon the authority of Holy Scripture and the model of the Primitive Church, considerable changes were made among ourselves in that mediæval and Roman type of dress. And the result has been that the customary ministering dress of the English clergy during the last three hundred years has been in colour and general appearance, though not in name, all but exactly identical with that which we find assigned to the Apostles in the earliest monuments of Christendom, and which upon similar evidence we find reason to conclude was, in point of fact, the dress of Christian ministry in the primitive ages of the Church’ (*Vestiarium Christianum*, p. v.).

Frequency in communicating. Canon xxi. orders that the Communion be thrice received in the year. This is the minimum number of attendances and receptions expected by the Anglican Church of all her members, as specified also in the rubrics of the Prayer-book, being an increase by two on the minimum previously required. The canon enjoins that the Holy Communion shall be ministered by the parson so often, and at such times as every parishioner may communicate, at the least thrice in the year, whereof the

feast of Easter to be one. In the colleges and halls of the universities it is to be administered once a month, and everyone is to communicate four times a year (*Can. xxiii.*). The rubric appended to the Communion Service further orders that in cathedral and collegiate churches and colleges, where there are many priests and deacons, there shall be a weekly Communion. Bishop Cosin states the practice of the Church in the seventeenth century thus: 'The Eucharist is religiously and reverently celebrated by us on the greater festivals, and on the first Sunday of every month. If any desire it oftener and are worthy to be communicants, it may and ought to be celebrated at other times also—Sundays, festivals or week-days' (*Regni Angliæ Religio*, xvii.). A more frequent celebration of the Holy Communion than once a week was not practised in the earliest ages of the Church, and is not contemplated by the Church of England, which regards the primary idea of the sacrament to be that of a remembrance, a memory, a commemoration, a memorial rather than a sacrifice ; and thoughtful men do not need a commemoration to be re-enacted every few days to revive their memory, nor does God require it to remind Him.

Sunday observance. Canon xiii. orders that 'all manner of persons within the Church of England shall from henceforth celebrate and keep the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and other holy days according to God's holy will and pleasure, and the orders of the Church of England prescribed in that behalf ; that is, in hearing the Word of God read and taught ; in private and public prayers ; in acknowledging their offences to God, and amendment of the same ; in reconciling themselves charitably to their

neighbours where displeasure hath been ; in oftentimes receiving the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ ; in visiting the poor and sick ; using all godly and sober conversation.'

The Reformation gave back its due honour to the Lord's day. The Homily on the place and time of Prayer describes, in the manner of the day, two classes of men who thought nothing of keeping and hallowing the Sunday : 'The one sort, if they have any business to do, though there be no extreme need, they must not spare for the Sunday ; they must ride and journey on the Sunday ; they must drive and carry on the Sunday ; they must row and ferry on the Sunday ; they must buy and sell on the Sunday ; they must keep markets and fairs on the Sunday ; finally, they use all days alike, work days and holy days all are one. The other sort is worse. For although they will not travel or labour on the Sunday as they do on the week day, yet they will not rest in holiness as God commandeth ; but they rest in ungodliness and filthiness, prancing in their pride, pranking and pricking, pointing and painting themselves to be gorgeous and gay . . . so that it doth too evidently appear that God is more dishonoured and the devil better served on the Sunday than upon all the days in the week besides. Wherefore, O ye people of God, lay your hands upon your hearts, repent and amend this grievous and dangerous wickedness, stand in awe of the commandment of God, gladly follow the example of God Himself, be not disobedient to the godly order of Christ's Church, used and kept from the Apostles' time until this day. Fear the displeasure and just plagues of Almighty God, if ye be negligent and forbear not labouring and travelling on the Sabbath day or Sunday, and do

Worship of the Reformed Anglican Church 50

not resort together to celebrate and magnify God's blessed name in quiet holiness and godly reverence' (Hom. VIII.).

Similarly Cranmer's Catechism :—

'The Lord saith, Thou shalt sanctify the Sabbath day; that is to say, we should bestow that day about holy, heavenly, and godly things. Now if you desire to know with what holy works you should pass away this day, you shall understand that we can do no greater holy works than to hear the Word of God, and to learn the true fear of God and the right faith in Him, and to prepare ourselves that we may worthily be partakers of the Lord's Table, thereby to receive great comfort, to the quiet of our consciences and confirmation of our faith. And moreover on such days chiefly we ought in faith and spirit fervently to pray to God, to give us all good things that we lack and have need of, and to defend and deliver us from evil things.'

PART IV

PRESENT-DAY DEVELOPMENTS OF
THE TWO SYSTEMS

CHAPTER I

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS OF THE MEDIÆVAL FAITH

MEDIÆVALISM, as embodied in Innocent III., and the system which he sanctioned at the Fourth Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, retained the earlier Christian faith in the background, but otherwise may be regarded as a new religion founded upon Transubstantiation and the Confessional, and the doctrine and practices derived from them. It was not to be expected that this religion would remain stationary where it was left in 1215; for the precise function of the Papal authority is to give sanction to any superstitions of the common people that arise, and to declare them dogmas of the faith as soon as they become so popular as to be demanded by the voice of the majority. Since the Lateran and also since the Tridentine Council new doctrines have sprung up, or mediæval tenets have grown more and more explicit till they have become new doctrines, and many more are on the way. Those which have already gained the sanction of the Latin Church are—(1) the Immaculate Conception of St Mary; (2) the Infallibility of the Pope of Rome; (3) the Universal Bishopric of the Pope of Rome, the two last dogmas being consolidated together in one decree.

(1). On December 8, 1854, Pope Pius IX., in the presence

of bishops assembled to grace his act, declared a new dogma—a thing that had not been attempted for three hundred years. This dogma was that St Mary, the mother of our Lord, was conceived and born without having been subject, from the first moment of her conception, to original sin. This is called the Immaculate Conception of St Mary. It is contrary to Scripture, which represents One only as sinless; it is contrary to the teaching of the Church Catholic, and it goes far to overthrow the doctrine of the Incarnation. The following had been the four steps which culminated in the declaration of this doctrine: 1. The opinion of the early Church was that St Mary was born in original sin and that she was liable to be guilty of actual sin, and that she fell into the sins of infirmity that good people, in spite of their goodness, fall into. This opinion was held for the five centuries which constitute the Primitive Church, and is testified to by Tertullian in the second century (*De carne Christi*, vii., p. 365, and *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 19, p. 433), by Origen in the third century (*Hom. in Luc.* xvii. 3, p. 952), by St Basil for the East and Hilary for the West in the fourth century (Basil, *Epist.* 260, iii. p. 409; Hilari. in *Psal.* cxix. p. 262), by Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria in the fifth century (Chrys., *Op.* vii. p. 467; Cyril, *Op.* iv. p. 1064; vi. p. 391). Down to the end of the fifth century any idea of the sinlessness of St Mary, if it existed at all, was altogether outside of the Church, and, like the worship paid to her, was regarded by the Church as false and heretical, belonging to Gnostics and Collyridians, not to orthodox believers. 2. But the Nestorian controversies, whose purpose was to maintain the true doctrine relating to the nature and person of Christ,

Further Developments of Mediæval Faith 50

led incidentally to a great change of sentiment within the Church in respect to the Lord's Mother, the Theotokos. Men began, St Augustine had previously begun, to hesitate to speak of her as actually sinful. Thus we arrive at the second opinion held respecting her sinfulness, which was that, though born in sin and subject to original sin, she might have been, perhaps was, saved by God's grace from falling into actual sin. This view was entertained from the fifth to the twelfth century. 3. The third opinion was that of the close of the twelfth century and the whole of the thirteenth century, which taught that St Mary was conceived in original sin, but sanctified in the womb before birth—a privilege which she was supposed to share with Jeremiah and John Baptist because they are described as 'sanctified' (Jer. i. 5), and 'blameless' (Luke i. 6). 4. The fourth opinion was that she was conceived also without sin. This tenet having been first heard of, but only to be condemned, in the thirteenth century, was supported as a likely hypothesis by Duns Scotus in the fourteenth century, and after having struggled with the theory of her sanctification in the womb for five centuries, was declared a dogma of the Church of Rome on December 8, 1854. This dogma, then, having been denied by the whole of the Eastern Church for nineteen centuries and by the whole of the Western Church for thirteen centuries and by the majority of even Western churchmen for another five centuries, has become in the Latin Church an article of faith necessary to be believed for salvation.

(2) and (3). In 1870 Pope Pius IX., having assembled what he boldly called an *Œcuménical Council*, though only the Latin Church was represented and that partially, caused to

be pronounced after an illusory discussion, in opposition to the judgment of the most learned prelates and theologians there present, the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope of Rome when speaking *ex cathedra* on any point of faith or morals ; and subordinately to this a formal assertion of the universal bishopric of the Pope over the whole Church of Christ. It can hardly be questioned that there is no justification either in Scripture or in the history of the Church for either of these statements ; but they were supposed by an active and aggressive faction within the Latin Church to be necessary in order to strengthen the bonds of discipline within her ; and this it was thought would be effected by the acceptance of those dogmas, on the ground of submission to authority, even though they were not believed as true in the conscience of those that accepted them ; nay more, a Protestant politician took an active part in the intrigues which preceded the declaration of the dogma because he thought that it would strengthen the hands of the Pope as a civil governor, which he considered desirable in the face of a turbulent populace, and a city subject to the King of Italy. (1) The decree was a large draft upon human ignorance and indifference to truth. It has caused the revolt of some 120,000 Old Catholics, but the mass of Roman Catholics has made no sign. Hitherto at least it accepts, if it does not believe. The effect of the two dogmas have not yet fully displayed themselves. They are incalculable ; for from the year 1870 all independence of act or thought, all liberty of bishops, priests, laymen, dioceses, provinces, national churches are lost within the Latin Church, which is, in fact, from that time forward summed up in the person of its head.

Further Developments of Mediæval Faith 50

It is not to be expected that new dogmas will be confined to those already promulgated ; for in order to erect some sort of intellectual scaffolding to support 'new dogmas,' Petavius formulated and Dr Newman embellished a theory called the theory of development, by which are justified any innovations in doctrine or discipline which actually arise in the Roman communion, however originating. The very fact of their existence is regarded as a proof that it was the divine intention that they should emerge, although it may be demonstrated that they actually took their origin from misapprehension, ignorance or superstition. It is plain that every corruption, whether of the Jewish Church, or of any section of the Christian Church, or of any religious body, might be thus justified ; and that if the theory be true, there is virtually no such thing as a 'faith delivered to the saints' (Jude 3), to be 'kept' as a deposit 'committed to' the Church's trust (1 Tim. i. 3, vi. 20) for the salvation of mankind ; and that St Paul's heat in twice repeating, 'If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed' (Gal. i. 8, 9) was quite out of place ; and that he should have said, instead of 'other than that ye have received,' 'other than that which, perhaps, after centuries of hesitancy and doubt and denial, may receive the sanction of the Bishop of Rome.'

We are not to suppose that even the exploitation of Mariolatry and Papal authority have come to an end with the dogmas of the Vatican Council and Pius IX. We see new extravagances on both heads forming before our eyes and awaiting the hour when a future Pope shall declare them revelations of God. Even before the decree of Pius IX., St Alfonso de' Liguori, the Doctor of the modern

Roman Church, had declared St Mary to be Mediator, Intercessor, Advocate, Redeemer, Saviour; and Pius IX., having given her the new title of the Mother-Helper, exempted her from the lot of humanity. But that is not enough. Leo XIII. has gone out of his way to encourage devotion to her in every way possible, taking under his protection all the wilder legends which do her honour, such as the Holy House of Loretto, La Salette, Lourdes. The pertinacity with which he has urged her worship is shown by his having published in thirteen years sixteen encyclicals or briefs to popularise the use of the Rosary of St Mary—two in 1883, in which he dedicates the month of October to the devotion of the Rosary (May being already assigned to St Mary, and March to St Joseph), two in 1884, one in 1885, one in 1886, one in 1887, one in 1888, one in 1889, in which invocations of St Joseph are ordered because they 'are desired by and grateful to the Virgin,' one in 1891, one in 1892, one in 1893, one in 1894, two in 1895, one in 1896, besides ordering the Festival of the Rosary to be observed by the whole Church on the first Sunday in October, and giving St Mary the title of the Queen of the holy Rosary. He begins the encyclical of September 8, 1892, as follows: 'As often as the occasion permits Us to rekindle and augment the love and devotion of Christian people toward the great Mother of God, We are penetrated with a wondrous pleasure and joy, dealing with a subject which is not only most excellent in itself and beyond Us in many ways, but is also in tenderest accord with Our inmost feelings. For indeed the holy affection to Mary, which We imbibed almost with Our mother's milk, has vigorously increased with growing years and become

more deeply rooted in Our mind. We have learned more clearly to understand to what degree She is worthy both of love and honour whom God Himself first loved and so preferred as to join Her to Himself as His Mother, raised high alone out of the universe and enriched with most ample gifts. The many and remarkable proofs of Her kindness and goodwill to Us, which We recall with deepest thankfulness, and not without tears, kindle and enflame more and more strongly Our responsive affection. For in the many varied and terrible trials that have befallen Us, We have always looked up to Her with eager and imploring eyes; all Our hopes and fears, Our joys and sorrows have been deposited in Her bosom, and it has been Our constant care to entreat Her to show to Us a mother's kindness, to be always at Our side, and to grant especially that We, on Our part, may be enabled to manifest to Her the proofs of the most devoted love of a son. . . . And this Our hope (Our heart delights to tell it) throughout all Our life, and especially in the discharge of the highest Apostleship, has never failed to help and console Us in every crisis. Hence, under Her auspices and with Her mediation We are encouraged to hope for still greater blessings tending to the salvation of the Christian World and to the glory of the Church. . . . For when we betake ourselves in prayer to Mary, we betake ourselves to the Mother of Mercy, well disposed towards us, that whatever trials we may be afflicted with, and more especially in our striving after everlasting life, of Her own accord and even without being called upon, She may be always at hand and may lavish on us the treasure of that grace which from the beginning was given to Her in full plenty from God, that She might be a Mother worthy of

Him. . . . Let us piously invoke Her ready help in that method of prayer which She Herself has taught us, and accept (the Rosary, which She gave Herself to Dominic). Then we may rest securely and with joy under the protection of the best Mother. . . . Our hope in Mary, Our mighty and kind Mother, grows wider day by day and ever beams upon Us more brightly.'

These words and acts must have their effect when emanating from one supposed to be infallible. A Society of the Perpetual Rosary, formed after the model of the Perpetual Adoration of the Sacrament, has been established with its headquarters at Lyons, that the worship of Mary may not cease day or night. An 'Association of the Holy Family of Nazareth' has been founded in Rome, to which the Pope gave his approval and statutes by his brief of June 14, 1892. Every member of the Association is to have an image or representation of the Holy Family in his house, and all his family are once a day at least to meet and pray before it, adding the ejaculations, 'Jesus, Joseph, Mary, I give you my heart and my life! Jesus, Joseph, Mary, help me in my last agony! Jesus, Joseph, Mary, let my soul expire in peace in your companionship!' To each of which ejaculations the Pope has attached an Indulgence of 300 days. It is very probable that the next decree in honour of St Mary will be a declaration of the earthly Trinity—Jesus, Mary and Joseph. The month of March is now dedicated to St Joseph, religious newspapers, *e.g.*; the *Pelican*, are placed under his patronage; an English Jesuit, Father Coupe, in a sermon preached at Clitheroe, on March 27, 1898, said, 'It is the common teaching of theologians that Joseph, the foster-father of Jesus (like Jeremias and

Further Developments of Mediæval Faith 50

John the Baptist) was both sanctified in the womb and confirmed in grace; that not only was sanctifying grace infused into him before he was born, so that after birth original sin never for an instant marred the splendour of his unblemished soul, that not only did the breath of actual sin never for an instant tarnish the spotless mirror of his conscience, but actual sin never had even the power to touch him. And it was fitting that it should be so. . . . When trouble assails human beings they should appeal to St Joseph. Pray for us, St Joseph! Prayer should be offered to St Joseph, who is the patron saint of a good and happy death. His office had been to feed and mature the childhood of Jesus; and when Jesus became a man, his work here was done. When he had done on earth, another work awaited him; and he is the guardian of Christ's mystical body, the universal Church; and so the Holy Father in Rome proclaimed St Joseph to be the patron saint of the Catholic Church. The Lord hath made him Master of His house and Ruler of all His possessions.' Hence it appears that St Joseph has arrived now at the point which St Mary had reached in the thirteenth century as to his immaculate nativity, and is further advanced than she then was in respect to the guardianship and patronage of the whole Church. The time for a new dogma seems approaching.

If the earthly Trinity is not the subject of the next decree, it may be the addition of St Mary to the heavenly Trinity.

In Spain it is not very unusual to add to 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,' the words, 'and to the most holy Virgin.' Or it may be a

declaration that she is sacrificed in the Mass. Already it is freely taught in France and Italy and England that a communicant receives her Body and Blood, that is, the Body and Blood which Christ took from her. 'Let the devotion of the Eucharist,' said a speaker at the Congress of Mary held at Florence in May, 1898, 'be helped by love of Mary! The Blood of Christ is the Blood of Mary! The flesh of Christ is the flesh of Mary!'

What form the next decree will take depends mainly on the will and personal interests of the Jesuits, who manipulate those things by first popularising a tenet, and then demanding its authorisation. (2)

A second decree on the Papal power seems also to be on the way. French bishops vie with one another in their adulation, and the adulation takes strange shapes. Monseigneur Bougaud, late Bishop of Laval, writes: 'If Jesus Christ is really present in the Holy Eucharist, is He therein present completely? In other words, do we possess under the veil of the Host all that our Lord brought into this world through His incarnation, all that the Apostles loved and admired in His Divine Person, all of which souls have need? Evidently not. . . And thus, O my Saviour, there is quite the half of Thee that is lacking for me, and that I seek in vain in this dumb tabernacle where Thou speakest not! And what half of Thee? I had almost said the most needful part. If then a half of Jesus is not in the Holy Eucharist, it must be elsewhere. In truth it is elsewhere; it is in the Vatican; it is in the Pope. The Pope is the second manner of the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Church. The Holy Eucharist and the Pope are these two veils woven by infinite love in order to soften

Further Developments of Mediæval Faith §•

down, by covering it, the presence of Jesus Christ in the world. *Mysterium fidei*. You must believe in order to see, when you are in the presence of the one or the other of the two veils that hide from us the whole of Jesus Christ. The Pope is Jesus Christ hidden under a veil. He is as the Host upon our altars. Outside we see the accidents and semblance of bread ; within it is Jesus Christ. Such is the true conception of the Pope. It follows that we ought to experience at the feet of the Vicar of Christ something of the impression that comes upon us when we are at the holy altar. . . . I prostrated myself overcome at his feet as if I were at the feet of Jesus Christ. . . . Jesus Christ present on the holy altar can alone support the soul and make it steadfast ; Jesus Christ present in the Vatican can alone sustain a Church and make it unassailable' (*Le Christianisme et les temps présents*, 1890).

Monsieur Jauffret, the present Bishop of Bayonne, completes the picture. Before making his prescribed visit to Rome he told his flock in a pastoral : 'We will say to the Pope in all submission, as unto the Spirit of God on the day of Pentecost, "Father of those who are in need, whose word gives light and consolation. *Pater pauperum, consolator optime, O lux beatissima*, wash away our faults, sustain our weakness, heal our wounds, make straight our paths, make us obedient to thy command, encircle us with thy holy fervour." ' After his return he preached a service in his cathedral on Whitsunday, 1896, in which he said : 'The Son of God abides really present in the Church through His own Sacrament of the Eucharist. The Eucharist of the Holy Ghost, which makes Him always present under the *corporeal* species, is the infallible Pope,

the *Os orbis*. It has been said most truly that the Pope is the *ego* of the Church. The Pope is the visible personification of the Spirit of God. The Pope is the incarnation of the Holy Ghost' (*Bulletin du diocèse de Bayonne*).

The two French bishops teach us that the Pope is Jesus Christ under a veil and the Holy Ghost incarnate. There is matter here for a second decree on the Papal authority, should it fall in with the plans of the Jesuits to have it declared.

NOTES

(1) See Purcell's Life of Manning, ch. xvi.

(2) The Jesuits, to whom is owed the decree proclaiming the Immaculate Conception, first took up the defence of that doctrine, not from believing it but in order to countermine the Dominicans who were getting the better of them in a controversy held at Rome on the subject of Grace, known as *De Auxiliis*, in the sixteenth century. Cardinal Lugo wrote from Rome to a brother Jesuit at Madrid: 'Let your reverence see that you and yours take pains to re-awaken the devotion of the Conception, which is very popular in Spain, *in order that by this means we may turn off the attacks of the Dominicans* who are pressing us hard here, having taken up the Defence of St Augustine. If we don't *occupy them with some other matter* they will beat us on the principal points of the controversy in the *De Auxiliis*.' In obedience to this command the Jesuits in Spain issued a form called an Act of Consecration, by which their disciples bound themselves to defend and propagate the belief in the Immaculate Conception, and they sent out one of their body, Father Aquete, preaching that 'the Virgin would rather be damned eternally and live with the devils than have been conceived in original sin.' The Dominicans, opposing this teaching, lost their popularity in Spain and had 'some other matter to occupy them' as Cardinal Lugo had anticipated. Henceforth the Jesuits, pushing the Franciscans aside, took charge of the intrigue which ended in the decree of Pope Pius IX. in 1854.

CHAPTER II

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN MEDIÆVAL WORSHIP

THE more that the old religion has decayed and vanished away the more new *cultes*, new forms, new subjects and new occasions of worship have been multiplied. They fall for the most part into three groups, those which have to do with St Mary, of which enough has been said, though no more than a few specimens have been given ; those which take for their object of worship some part of the Body of our Lord, and those connected with the Holy Eucharist. Of these the first and third cannot be excused from the guilt of idolatry nor the second from Nestorianism, as the object of worship is not the Person of our Lord, not even His human nature apart from the divine, but certain parts of His body.

Of this class the type is the worship of the Sacred Heart, which can boast of an existence of two centuries and has taken its place in the Breviary and Missal, having arisen from the waking dreams of a girl at Paray-le-Monial, named Mary Alacoque. The great church at Montmartre has been dedicated to the Sacred Heart as an expiatory gift for France. The worship of the Sacred Heart has been followed up by the worship of the Sacred Feet, and the 'Arch-confraternity of the Sacred Face,' established to promote 'the devotion traditionally given to the image of

the Adorable Face of the Saviour.' Indulgences have been granted to this *culte* by a brief of December 16, 1884, and the Archbishop of Tours is making every preparation for the beatification of its originator, Leon Dupont, a canon of Tours. The 'Order of the Sacred Hands of the Saviour' and the 'Order of the Sacred Heart of the Penitent Jesus' are on their way, but have not yet attained full recognition. Their origin and growth is full of interest and instruction.

M. Pierre Compagne, S.J., a Jesuit of Castres, was at Bordeaux on May 20, 1864, being 'Monday in the Octave of the Most Holy Sacrament and the eve of the closing of the month of Mary.' At 3.45 A.M. he saw the sky become red towards the north-east, long rays shot out from a central glory, and two bleeding, stigmatised hands came forth with golden rays shining from the tips of the fingers, at the end of which was a sword pointed towards the heart of the gazer. Having fallen on his knees, crying, 'Divine Hands of the Saviour, help us,' he went to say Mass, and from the Host there came forth a voice bidding him institute a festival and prepare an office in honour of the Sacred Hands. He prepared the office and sent it to his general, Father Beckx, but received no answer. Two years later he returned to Bordeaux, and while he was praying before a statue of the Immaculate Conception, with 'a large Heart of Jesus' on his right hand, he had a vision of himself as Founder of the Order of the Sacred Hands, and while he was saying Mass the whole constitution of the Order was revealed to him. Not being able to get an answer from his general, he instituted the *culte* without authority. It spread; and now it has been taken up and approved by the Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux and Malines, the Bishops of

Further Developments in Mediæval Worship

Grenoble, Reggio and others. The manual of the Order is dedicated to 'his Holiness our Holy Father the Pope,' and states that 'while waiting for the proclamation of the public *culte*, each one may in private invoke these powerful Hands, subsisting in the Person of the Word, and everywhere an object of worship, with one and the same *latraria* (divine adoration) with the Word.' This worship is to be given to the material Hands of our Lord, and it is a necessary consequence, according to M. Compagne, S.J., of the worship of the Sacred Heart, for as the Heart of Christ was the seat of His love, His Hands were the instrument of His mercy, and the adoration of the Humanity of Christ is the foundation of both *cultes*. For private worship the Hands are to be represented detached at the wrist, but for public adoration it will be better to have the whole figure, so as not 'to expose Jesus *en morceaux*.'

The founder of the 'Order of the Sacred Heart of the Penitent Jesus' is Mathilde Marchat, a native of Soigny in the Diocese of Chartres. In the year 1888 she says she received a revelation from Our Lady of Lourdes, and afterwards from Christ, instructing her to found the Order. Her application to the Bishop of Chartres for his approval was, according to the usual system, rejected, and the Holy Inquisition in 1894 forbade her proceeding further, but a new revelation has consigned the bishop to a long purgatory for opposing the design, a church and convent have been built, and the number of the *Épouses du Sacré Cœur de Jesus Pénitent* grows. If they succeed in establishing themselves, they will no doubt be sanctioned and have a festival and service appointed for them by the Pope.

The Eucharistic *cultes* are such as the 'Forty hours'

Worship of the Sacrament,' or again the 'Perpetual Worship of the Host,' when the Host is exposed on the altars and adored by relays of worshippers for forty hours, or constantly day and night. Then there is the 'Nocturnal Adoration of the Most Holy Sacrament,' which was started in Paris in 1848 by the Brotherhood of Notre Dame des Victoires. This is described in the Bayonne diocesan Gazette as a practice, 'beautiful in its simplicity and its moderation,' of 'coming together once a fortnight, to pass the whole night in the company of the Divine Master and Saviour, in order to comfort His heart on account of the ingratitude of men, and to intercede for their brethren and for poor sinners.' Each 'night watch around Jesus the Host' is counted as 'a glorification of the God of the Eucharist.' A 'Congregation of the Eucharistic Heart' has also been started, but it is as yet frowned upon by the authorities, who do not approve of pictures of the Host with a flaming Heart in the centre, until they have become more popular.

These are instances of *cultes* springing up in the present day or but lately having attained to official recognition. If we go back a century or two we shall find the origin of the Exposition of the Host on the High Altar for worship now everywhere practised, which first took place at Paris in the year 1627, and has been followed by the rite, so repugnant to our religious instincts and yet so natural and reasonable a result from the tenet of the Objective Presence in the elements, of Benediction or blessing given to the worshipping congregation by the Host, which is nothing else than the Person of Jesus Christ enclosed in a wafer. (1)

The way in which these new devotions become part of

Further Developments in Mediæval Worship 50

the authorised worship of the Latin Church is the following. Some enthusiast starts them ; they are discouraged by the authorities, but only as a public manifestation ; they spread privately without hindrance ; then some society, perhaps the Company of Jesus, gets them sanctioned for their own use ; next they are sanctioned for the locality in which they are now used ; then for the country in which the locality is situated ; at last for the whole Latin Church ; Collects, Epistles, Gospels and lessons are then appointed for them, and they take their place in the Breviary and Missal.

The above instances are sufficient to serve as specimens how new faiths and new rites are more and more thrusting Christianity into the background in the Latin Communion. At the Marian Congress held at Lyons on 5th September 1900, in the presence of two cardinals, thirty-five bishops and hundreds of priests and monks, the chief orator assured his auditors that the Lion of France, surrounded by faithful knights, should conduct Our Lady's car across the twentieth century, and returning to Lyons should find another Marian Congress acclaiming the Blessed, the Immaculate, the Warrior, the Queen of Chivalry and Honour as the 'Sovereign Lady of earth and heaven.'

The public worship of a lay member of the Latin Church at present consists in his attendances on Mass on days of obligation, when he looks at the priest sacrificing Christ to God as a propitiation for himself, for the congregation, for the whole Church, for the quick and dead. This form of worship was first authorised at the Council of Trent in 1562. At a later hour he may attend the Exposition of the Sacrament for private prayer to it. If particularly devout, he makes one of the company which by relays worships the

Sacrament, either for forty hours or some other appointed length of time or perpetually. He is careful too to be present when Benediction or blessing is given to the worshipping people by the Host. But unless ordered as part of a penance, services other than that of hearing Mass are not obligatory, except Communion once a year; and when assisting at Mass it is not necessary to pray but only to show an outward attention, which does not exclude talking to a neighbour, lacing boots, etc. (Liguori, *Theol. Mor.* iv. 343). His private acts of devotion are Confession not less often than once a year, gaining Indulgences available for this world and for Purgatory, buying Masses for the dead (price in England for one Mass five shillings, in most Continental countries ninepence), paying devotion to St Mary and probably wearing her Scapular, which will save him from Hell and deliver him from Purgatory on the Saturday following his death. (2)

NOTES

(1) The word Host is now popularly confined to the meaning of Christ existing under the form of bread or wafer. There is no reason why it should not be equally applied to Christ existing under the form of wine.

(2) To encourage others to do likewise, S. Alfonso de' Liguori says that he wore himself the Scapular of Mount Carmel (which has the effects above specified), the Scapular of Mary in sorrow, the Scapular of Mary of Mercy and particularly the Scapular of the Immaculate Conception, the last of which assures to the wearer '463 plenary Indulgences, besides the Indulgences for different lengths of time which are innumerable,' every time that he says 'a *Pater*, *Ave*, and *Gloria*, six times, in honour of the Most Holy Trinity and Immaculate Mary.' It has been calculated that a devout man or woman might thus earn in twelve hours about 35,000 plenary Indulgences besides an incalculable number of days, years and centuries of partial deliverances.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE REFORMED ANGLICAN CHURCH SINCE THE REFORMATION

THE first statements of her faith and worship made by the Church at the time she reformed herself were in the reign of Edward VI., in 1549 and 1552. There immediately followed her seeming overthrow but real strengthening by the fires of persecution in the reign of Mary. Then came the settlement in the reign of Elizabeth, in 1559, when the Prayer-book of 1552 was restored and adopted with very slight alteration.⁽¹⁾ In Elizabeth's reign there began to grow up the party, religious and political, of the Puritans, which increased in power during the reign of her two successors till it overthrew both the monarchy and the Church. At the beginning of this period the antagonist dreaded by the supporters of the Church was Rome ; then the attack veered about so as to come from the side of Presbyterianism and Independency. The Church had to alter its tactics of defence accordingly. But whether opposing Rome or Puritanism she held fast to her own principles, at once Catholic and Protestant, firmly rejecting innovations from whatever quarter they came, whether in doctrine or discipline. Antagonism to Rome did not drive her into the excesses of Puritanism ; antagonism to Puritanism did not make her condone the corruptions of Rome. The learned school of Anglican divines of the seventeenth century, beginning with Andrewes and ending with Bull and follow-

ing in the steps of Hooker, while fighting for their lives against Puritanism, never showed nor felt any the least tenderness for the mediævalisms with which the primitive faith and worship had been corrupted. Hooker condemned in the strongest terms the Roman doctrine of Tradition (*Eccles. Pol.* i. 13), of Papal Supremacy (*Ibid.* vii. 8), of Transubstantiation (*Ibid.* v. 67), of Adoration of the Host (Serm. II.), of Worship of Images (*Ibid.*), of Invocation of Saints (Serm. VII.), of Justification (Serm. II.), of Confession and Absolution (*Eccles. Pol.* vi.), of Indulgences (Serm. VI.). Andrewes equally strongly condemned the Roman perversion of Catholicism (*Tortura Torti*, p. 368), and the Roman doctrines on the Interpretation of Scripture (*Catech. Doctrine*, Part I.), Seven Sacraments (*Resp. ad Bell.*, p. 72), the Eucharist (*Ibid.*, pp. 14, 250), One kind (*Ibid.*, p. 251), Reservation (*Ibid.*, p. 267), Non-communicating attendance (*Ibid.*, p. 250, Serm. IV., VII.), Purgatory (*Ibid.*, p. 222), Supererogation (*Ibid.*, p. 268), Saint worship (*Ibid.*, p. 242). Angel worship (*Ibid.*, p. 245), Image worship (*Ibid.*, p. 274), Relics (*Ibid.*, p. 61), Papal Supremacy (*Ibid.*, p. 292; *Tort. Torti*, p. 406), Idolatry (*Tort. Torti.*, p. 378), Incense and Lights (*Disc. on Ceremonies*, Pt. III.). Archbishop Laud spoke equally strongly on Infallibility (*Conf. with Fisher*, § 33), Supremacy (*Ibid.*, § 39), the Catholic faith (*Ibid.*, § 38), Roman Catholicism (*Ibid.*, § 36), Roman superstition (*Ibid.*, §§ 35, 39), the Eucharist (*Ibid.*, § 35), Transubstantiation (*Ibid.*, § 33), One kind (*Ibid.*, § 35), Invocation of Saints (*Ibid.*, § 33), Adoration of Images (*Ibid.*), Purgatory (*Ibid.*). In like manner Bishop Cosin condemned the Church of Rome's New Articles of Faith (*Schol. Hist. of Canon of Holy Scripture*, p. xxxiv.), Romish

Developments since the Reformation

Intolerance (*On the state of the Church of England*), Roman Superstitions (*Regni Angliæ Religio*, vii.), the Roman Canon of Scripture (*Schol. Hist. iv.*), Transubstantiation (*Hist. Transubstantiation*), the Mass (*Notes on the Prayer-book*), Elevation (*Ibid.*), Adoration of the Host (*Ibid.*), One kind (Letter), Objective Presence (*Note on the Communion Service*), Reservation (*Ibid.*), the Seven Sacraments (*Ibid.*), Purgatory (*Ibid.*), Saint worship (Serm. X.). Similar catenas can be formed from Jeremy Taylor, Bull, Bramhall, Beveridge and the rest, and we may say in general that the Caroline divines stood firmly on the platform of the Reformation with no look thrown backwards, unless it were across the Middle Ages to primitive times and the faith of primitive Christians, no article of which was lost, as may be seen by Bishop Pearson's 'Exposition of the Creed.' When we reach the eighteenth century we find points of doctrine fallen into the background, and the reasonableness of religion more emphatically dwelt upon, while enthusiasm was looked on with alarm. Much good work was done in proving the claims of Christianity, especially against the Deists ; but the emotional element of religion was too much repressed. The result was a reaction, led by the Wesleys, devout clergymen of the Church, whose object it was to restore warmth and light to religion, which had grown too cold and dull to affect the heart. Unfortunately, in spite of the wishes of the leaders, the rank and file of the movement, once stirred in their deepest emotions and driven blindly by them, made a schism from the National Church, the deplorable results of which we are now witnessing ; but, nevertheless, a quicker life entered into the Church and exhibited itself in what is known as the Evangelical

Movement. (2) This was followed in the nineteenth century by the Tractarian or Oxford Movement, which originated in the necessity felt of falling back on the principles of Church organisation and authority as a defence against the assaults threatened by the State.

In respect to doctrine and worship there was no idea at the commencement of that movement of going beyond the position taken up by the Caroline divines of the seventeenth century ; but John Henry Newman's mind was a very restless one, and perhaps to protect himself against scepticism, to the danger of which he acknowledged himself exposed, he threw himself back more and more on authority and dogma. Seizing the management of the Movement with a resolute hand, he directed it more and more into a course favourable to Rome and at length himself stepped across the boundary. Pusey's teaching had gone beyond that of the Church of England on three points : (1) the doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism which he seems to have regarded as not only changing the federal relation between God and man, and so effecting a change of spiritual position to the recipient, but also creating a change of disposition, which belongs rather to sanctification, in which God allows man to co-operate with Him, than to justification, which is the act of God alone (3) ; (2) an overstrained sense of the heinousness of post-baptismal sin, which led him to look for its pardon to a formal absolution instead of simple confession to God and prayer to God, as St Chrysostom and St Augustine taught ; (3) the doctrine of the Eucharist, where he held such a change in the elements as could hardly be distinguished from Christ's Objective Presence in them, the expression 'under the form of bread and wine'

being frequently in his mouth. When his colleague, with whom he had so long co-operated and whom he dearly loved, joined the Church of Rome, his language became very different from that of the Caroline divines as to Roman errors, because he could not bring himself to condemn Newman ; and in the latter part of his life he glossed over the differences between the two Churches in hopes of being once more in union with his old friend and at the same time effecting an understanding between the two Churches. Keble, the third of the trio who led the Movement, acknowledged that he was for a time 'fairly carried off his legs' by the influence of Newman's and Pusey's eagerness, and during that time he unfortunately wrote two books, the *Lyra Innocentium* and *Eucharistical Adoration* ; but in 1858, thirteen years after Newman's secession, he wrote : 'I look now upon my time with Newman and Pusey as a sort of parenthesis in my life, and I have now returned again to my old views such as I had before.' 'Now that I have thrown off the yoke of Newman,' he said to Isaac Williams, 'these things appear quite different' (*Autobiography of Isaac Williams*, p. 118). On a review of the Movement the Tractarian party in its later development cannot be excused of a certain disloyalty, at first not intended. But they must not in this respect be regarded in the same light as the party that has succeeded them called Ritualists. The one doctrine of Ritualism round which all its ceremonies are grouped is the Objective Presence of Christ in the Bread and in the Wine. This was introduced into the Church of England by Robert Isaac Wilberforce in a book on the Eucharist, drawn from Roman sources and published by him shortly before he joined the Church

of Rome, in which book, without using the terms Transubstantiation or Mass, he taught the views best expressed by those words, Dr Pusey having, as we have seen, to some extent prepared the way. With that doctrine, which spread widely in the Church of England and was advocated by a Scottish Bishop (Forbes), though firmly resisted by another Scottish Bishop (Charles Wordsworth), there came necessarily a desire for restoring or introducing the rites of Reservation (leading in one of its forms to worship of the Host, in its other form to processions of the Host to the sick man's house), Elevation, Adoration, the necessity of Fasting Communion, Hearing Mass, otherwise called Non-communicating Attendance, children's Eucharists, Sacramental Confession, as well as the use of Vestments, Incense, Lights, Genuflexions and other ceremonies to enhance the glory and splendour of the Neo-Eucharistical functions. Reservation, Incense and Lights have been condemned afresh by authority, but condemned or not, all these practices will continue as long as the doctrine from which they spring is held, that is, as long as men believe 'that in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Bread and Wine, through the operation of the Holy Ghost, become in and by consecration, according to our Lord's institution, verily and indeed the Body and Blood of Christ, and that Christ our Lord, present in the same most holy sacrament of the altar under the form of Bread and Wine, is to be adored' (*Declaration of the English Church Union, 1900*). For as Cranmer has said three and a half centuries ago: 'The rest is but branches and leaves, or the cutting down of weeds, but the very body of the tree, or rather the roots of the weeds, is the popish doctrine of Transubstantiation'

Developments since the Reformation 50

(*Doctrine of the Sacrament*). And the difference between Transubstantiation and the above declaration is little else than one between a scientific and an unscientific statement.

All the above practices have been condemned in the Church of England, though the archbishops have not renewed the condemnation except in the case of Reservation, Incense and Lights. Bishop Cosin condemns Elevation: 'The priest was appointed by the first Liturgy of Edward VI. to take the bread and cup into his hands (which is still observed among us); but he was not appointed to make any Elevation of them, as the new Roman Catholics do at their Mass, when the priest, saying *Hoc est corpus meum*, suddenly lifts up the wafer over his head and afterwards the chalice, that the people may all fall down upon their knees and worship them, which rite neither we nor any of the reformed or Protestant Churches observe, but, in regard to the peril of idolatry, have wholly omitted' (*Note on Prayer-book*).

Bishop Jeremy Taylor condemns Adoration of the Sacrament: 'We may not render Divine worship to Him as present in the blessed sacrament according to His human nature without danger of idolatry: because He is not there according to His human nature, and therefore you give Divine worship to a *non ens*, which must needs be idolatry; for *idolum nihil est in mundo* saith St Paul; and Christ, as present by His human nature in the Sacrament, is a *non ens*. For it is not true; there is no such thing. He is present there by His Divine power and His Divine blessing and the fruits of His Body, the real effective consequents of His Passion; but for any other presence it is *idolum*, it is nothing in the world. Adore Christ in heaven,

for the heavens must contain Him till the time of the restitution of all things' (*Fifth Letter*).

And again: 'The commandment to worship God alone is so express; the distance between God and bread dedicated to the service of God is so vast; the danger of worshipping that which is not God, or of not worshipping that which is God, is so formidable, that it is infinitely to be presumed that if it had been intended that we should have worshipped the Holy Sacrament, the Holy Scripture would have called it God or Jesus Christ, or have bidden us in express terms to have adored it' (*Real Presence* xiii.). (4)

The demand that the Communion shall be received fasting is condemned by Bishop Christopher Wordsworth: 'We need not scruple to say that any members of the Church of England, who, on plea of reverence for the authority of the ancient Church, venture to require fasting as a condition of administering and receiving the Holy Communion, not only set themselves up against the authority of the Church of England, which for the most part administers the Holy Communion at midday or even later on Sunday, but even against that ancient Church to which they appeal' (*Twelve Addresses*). 'Anything is wrong,' says Bishop Doane of Albany, 'which makes compulsory a new condition, and adds fasting to the faith and repentance and charity which are laid down as preparations of worthy receiving' (*Convention Address*, 1887).

Of Non-communicating Attendance Bishop Moberly writes: 'Is it supposed that this is a primitive practice? Is it not certain that St Chrysostom speaks of it in the severest terms when adopted, apparently as a new thing, among the careless and imperfectly-instructed churchmen

Developments since the Reformation

of Constantinople in his own days? And if other denunciations of it are seldom found in the writings of other ancient Fathers, is not the true explanation of the absence of such denunciations to be found in the fact that such an usage was absolutely unknown and unthought of in the early Church? And does it not militate directly against the very fundamental idea of the commemorative sacrifice as the great and solemn offering on the part of the whole Church, that men should thus not refrain only, but exhibit in a sort of presumption of will-worship the fact of their determination to refrain from communion? Is it not in fact a part of the natural result—of the logical consequence—of the Romish doctrine, which regards the entire sacrifice as completed by the sacrificing priest singly and alone, and ignores the necessary though subordinate part which the Church in her faithful people contributes to the joint act? . . . The theory exemplified in the modern practice is precisely that against which it is my particular purpose to object' (*Bampton Lectures*, 1868). Bishop Doane warns his clergy, 'that it is wrong to encourage any idea of benefit derived from the Holy Communion except by those who not only take part in the offering but also partake of the elements. The rule stands, and stands by Divine institution, by Catholic usage, by the plain intention of our Book of Common Prayer. Any habit formed by the lay people or encouraged by the clergy to attend celebrations often, with the idea of sacramental benefit or spiritual advantage, is a violation not merely of the Church's rule but of the Divine Law' (*Convention Address*, 1887). Scudamore concludes the consideration of the subject as follows: 'Those who do not communicate derive no special benefit from their presence at the celebration. . . .

Rather may we not fear a further secret loss of grace and blessing, if we attempt to use the most holy ordinance of Christ in a manner or for a purpose which has no sanction from Holy Scripture or from the uninspired records of the primitive Church?' (*Notit. Euchar.*, p. 402).

Children's Eucharists are so novel that they have not yet met with adequate condemnation. Their effect, and generally their purpose, is to teach young children, with their minds still plastic, that Christ, on the words of consecration, 'comes,' 'descends,' to be the object of worship of all present, and the children are taught to interpolate into the service just before the consecration the Roman *Benedictus qui venit*, 'Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord,' which 'has reference,' the *Ritual Reason Why* tells us, to the *coming* of our Lord, which is about to take place through the Consecration'; and they are made to sing the *Agnus Dei* immediately after the consecration, which, the same manual explains, 'is a prayer to our Lord now present on the altar.' The children are further told at this moment 'to worship our Blessed Lord veiled beneath these outward forms.' It is probable that Non-communicating attendance, Children's Eucharists and Sacramental Confession are the most effective means employed for spreading the false views of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which form the most essential and central principle of what goes under the name of Ritualism.

For the first time since the Reformation we are in face of wilful disloyalty to its principles, corruption of truth, recovered at the Reformation growing up just as it did in the transitional centuries intervening between the Primitive and the Mediæval Church. But this disloyalty forms only a

Developments since the Reformation

backwater eddy. The stream rolls on. The Church may have been too tolerant of evil in some of its members, but the same principles which animated the Reformers and Churchmen to whom we owe the Prayer-books of 1549, 1552, 1559, 1604 and 1662, and the XXXIX. Articles, animate the mass of English Churchmen now. Their faith is the same. Their forms of worship have undergone little change. There are the Sunday services—the Morning and Evening Prayer, customary in the Primitive, lost in the Mediæval Church; the Holy Communion administered in remembrance of Christ's death, and as a means of conveying grace to the recipients, not less than once a month, and, if the circumstances of the parish call for it, weekly or even more frequently; the daily service where congregations are so situated as to be able to attend in sufficient numbers. And each phase of individual life is consecrated by the offices of Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, Holy Orders, Visitation of the Sick, Communion of the Sick, the Burial of the Dead, the Churching of Women, and the Catechising of the Young either in the church or in the school. Papal superstitions may knock at the door, and may even make a temporary lodgment within, but a healthy and wholesome Protestantism, which is at the same time true Catholicism, will expel them as soon as their real character and tendency is perceived.

NOTES

(¹) It is frequently said that Elizabeth desired to adopt the Prayer-book of 1549 instead of that of 1552 as the basis of the Prayer-book of 1559, and that the Prayer-book of 1552 was altered from that of 1549 owing to the pressure of some foreign divines. Neither statement has adequate foundation.

(²) For a genial sketch of this Movement see Sir Richard Temple's

Essay on the Evangelical Movement in the Church of England in 'Church and Faith' (Blackwood).

(3) The Church holds a doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism, but she does not hold what by many persons is supposed to be meant by Regeneration in Baptism. She does not include Renovation under the term Regeneration. She does not mean by Regeneration the implantation of new habits in the soul. She does not mean a sensible change felt at the moment by the individual. She does not mean by it a gift necessarily involving final perseverance. She does not mean by it any conscious or active co-operation on the part of the baptized person with an act which is God's alone. But she holds that the relation between the baptized person and God is changed, that he has been adopted into God's family and that adoption sealed, that he has entered into covenant with God, and that he begins a new life as God's child, accepted for Christ's sake. If an adult, he cannot enter into the new relationship except after fulfilling the previous conditions of Repentance and Faith; if an infant, the promise that he shall fulfil those conditions hereafter is made for him. When men understand that Regeneration does not include Sanctification, Conversion or Renewal, that the baptized person is not mechanically made a fully-developed Christian, but a child of grace in covenant with God, and consequently placed in a present 'state of salvation,' which, if not forfeited (as it will be by a want of submission of the human heart and will to the Divine Spirit), will lead to the enjoyment of the heavenly inheritance, the difficulty felt by some in accepting the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration to a great degree, if not wholly, passes away. The Collect for Christmas Day, composed in 1549, distinguishes Regeneration and Renewal: 'That we (1) *being* regenerate and made Thy children by adoption and grace, may (2) *daily* be renewed by the Holy Spirit.' The late Bishop Jackson of London, commenting on Titus iii. 5, writes: 'Regeneration is the work of the Holy Spirit in the due use of Baptism which God has ordained. Renewal is the work of the Holy Spirit together with the co-operation of man, which God requires. Regeneration is an act once done and never repeated. Renewal is, or should be, perpetual and progressive, "the inward man being renewed day by day" '(2 Cor. iv. 16).

(4) An Old Catholic Professor, expressing his astonishment at what he sees going on in England, writes, 'Je plains votre Eglise d'en être réduite à discuter encore sur des choses si essentiellement contraires à la notion même de l'Eucharistie. Le pain doit être mangé et Dieu adoré et non *vice versa*.'

INDEX

AGAPE, 22, 36, 41, 44, 49, 57, 64, 72.
 Ante-lucan Service, 63.
 Apostles, Acts of, 1.
 Apostles, Creed of the, 2.
 'Apostles, Teaching of,' 41.
 Arius, 67.
 Articles, The XXXIX., 157.
 Athenagoras, 52.

BAPTISM, 21, 35, 42, 48, 225, 276.
 Barbarians, The, 88.
 Barnabas, Epistle of, 40.
 Bishops, 27, 38, 44.

CALENDAR, The, 213.
 Charlemagne, 98.
 Chasuble, The, 153.
 Children's Eucharists, 274.
 Church, The, 20, 35, 80.
 Church, Sub-Apostolic, 39.
 Church, Primitive, 66.
 Church, Mediaeval, 105.
 Church, Reformed Anglican, 157.
 Church, Modern, 247, 265.
 Clement of Alexandria, 56.
 Clement of Rome, Epistle of, 40.
 Clementines, The, 91.
 Communion Service, 226.
 Common Prayer, 22, 36.
 Communion, Holy, 21, 35, 41, 49, 55, 64,
 202, 220, 240.
 Communion of Sick, 225.
 Confessional, The, 88.
 Confirmation, 24, 37, 225.
 Congruity and Condignity, 126, 166.
 Constantinople, Claim of Primacy by, 83.
 Constantinople, Councils of, 94.
 Constantinople, Creed of, 68, 73.
Corpus Christi, 135.

DEACONS, 26.
 Decretals, The false, 106.
 Development, 251.
 Dioceses, 79.

ELEVATION, 133.
 Epistles, The, 29.
 Evensong, 210.
 Excommunication, 37.

Extreme Unction, 38, 144, 177, 225.
 Eutyches, 70.

FASTING (Compulsory), 136.
 Frankfort, Council of, 99.

HERMAS, 40.
 Homilies, The, 197.
 Honorius, Pope, 95.
 Host, The, 56, 62, 133, 272, 276.

IGNATIUS, Epistles of, 43.
 Image Worship, 61, 95, 100, 123, 140,
 172, 199.
 Immaculate Conception, 247, 258.
 Indulgences, 118, 129, 154, 170.
 Infallibility, 249.
 Irenaeus, Creed of, 13, 53.
 Irene, Empress, 96.

JOSEPH, St, 254.
 Justification, 125, 150, 162, 199.
 Justin Martyr, 47.

KENOSIS, 102.

LATERAN Council (Fourth), 129.
 Latin Language, 141, 204, 207.
 Leo I, 84, 90.
 Litany, The, 217.
 Liturgies, The, 24.
 Lord's Day, The, 22, 36, 52, 74, 146, 241.

MACEDONIUS, 69.
 Marriage, 37, 58, 177, 225.
 Mass, Sacrifice of, 113, 137, 153, 185, 220.
 Matins, 208.
 Metropolitans, 79.
 Millennium, The, 48, 61.
 Missa, 64.

NESTORIUS, 70.
 Nicæa, Second Council of, 95.
 Nicene Creed, 67, 191.
 Non-communicating Attendance, 223,
 272.

ONE kind, 114, 142, 182.
 Orders, Holy, 24, 37, 144, 228.

Index

Orders, Minor, 84.
Ornaments Rubric, 237.

PATRIARCHS, 79.
Penance, 143, 177, 203, 213.
Pius IV., Creed of, 111.
Polycarp, Epistle of, 45.
Pope, an incarnation of Christ, 256.
Pope, the Holy Ghost, 257.
Prayer-book, 192, 207.
Prayers at Sea, 227.
Presence, Objective, 205, 269.
Presbyter, 26, 38.
Procession, 135, 217.
Prophets, 28, 38, 60.
Psalms, Order of, 227.
Purgatory, 72, 91, 116, 145, 167, 201.
REFORMATION, The, 157, 193.
Relics, 46, 122, 130, 148, 174.
Reservation, 134.
Ritualism, 269.
Rosary, The, 252.

SACERDOTALISM, 233, 236.
Sacred Heart, The, 259.
Sacred Hands, The, 260.
Sacrifices, 51, 53, 55, 56, 61, 232.
Saint Worship, 72, 121, 146, 200, 213.
Scapulars, 264.
Scripture, Holy, 2, 15, 159, 198, 212.
Seven Sacraments, 115, 148, 176, 201.
Seventeenth Century, The, 205.
Succession, The, 235.
Supremacy, The, 82, 85, 92, 94, 105, 127, 151, 188, 249.

TATIAN, 52.
Tertullian, 56.
Theophilus, 53.
Tractarianism, 268.
Tradition, 124.
Transubstantiation, 88, 111, 131, 179.
VESTMENTS, 138, 237, 272.
Vixicium, 145, 153.
Vigilius, Pope, 94.

THE END

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